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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REPORT ON INCREASED EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION WITH LDC'S

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German No 11, 1983 pp 330-331

/Article by Peter Heilmann: "On Some Aspects of GDR University Relations with Developing Countries"/

/Text/ Ever since its establishment, a tremendous thrust in the development of universities and colleges has been noticeable in the GDR. The international relations of these educational institutions have progressed to the same extent.

Guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, relations with the new nationally liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America are of particular importance. On the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity, the GDR's system of higher education feels obligated to contribute to the comprehensive development of these countries.

The significance of these relations underwent a qualitative and quantitative change in the process of the collapse of the imperialist colonial system, the evolution of the young states and their struggle for economic and social liberation.

More than 10 years ago the diplomatic blockade of the GDR was broken--a success to which GDR scientists contributed by their achievements--, and now GDR relations with the developing countries in the field of university and technical school education have largely become a solid part of state agreements.

Scientific--or to be more exact, higher educational relations--represent a significant dimension in the treaties between states on cultural and scientific cooperation. Other arrangements, such as on cooperation in the field of the university system, the equivalence of academic degrees, the admission and exchange of students and graduates, complement these sets of treaties. In the past 2 years the minister or his deputy concluded many new agreements in this field, for instance with Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Iraq. On the occasion of Comrade Erich Honecker's state visit to Mexico, a treaty was signed by the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs and the GDR Academy of Sciences on the one hand and Mexico's CONACYT /National Council for Science and Technology/ and the Mexican Academy of Sciences on the other.

Raised to a higher level at the time were existing traditionally good relations with many developing countries, by means of the exchange of managerial delegations, and the

concretization and accomplishment of cooperation. Examples here are Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, Syria, India, Egypt, the People's Republic of Yemen, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colombia and Guyana. On the basis of partnership and reciprocal benefits, agreements between universities and colleges of the respective countries (ranging from India and Afghanistan via Iraq, Egypt, Algeria, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola to Colombia, Peru and Mexico, to list only a few) and our institutions of higher learning contribute to the deepening of friendly relations between the states, the development of science, the preservation of peace and the socioeconomic evolution of the young states.

It is increasingly obvious that the GDR's university system is an ever more desirable partner for many countries (from the economic aspect also), due to its capacity. Indeed, by way of nonmaterial exports it has turned into a cooperation partner of GDR foreign trade organs.

Even where there are no government agreements of the kind mentioned before, many arrangements and contacts do in fact exist at the level of universities, faculties (or departments), fields of science or various research groups and individual scholars.

The types and methods of cooperation are many and varied.

In September 1981 we were able to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the admission of foreign students to the GDR, an eloquent testimonial to the GDR's comradely achievements since the admission of the first students; it includes the formation of a young intelligentsia for the government, economic and scientific apparatus of the developing countries. In its handling of these cadres the GDR differs profoundly from the methods and targets of training practiced in Western countries, that all too often end in a brain drain.

Many of the cadres trained in the GDR maintain close ties with their former schools, departments, fields or instructors. Though this varies from one country to the next, it does bear witness to their loyalty to the country where they studied. Many graduate associations exist all over; often their members are active within the friendship societies with the GDR--the Returnees Club in India is a good example. By renewed visits to the GDR these links are maintained, reactivated and conducive to new types of cooperation up to and including research cooperation.

At the same time university teachers from the GDR undertake the training and further education of cadres in their own countries. Experts from GDR universities and colleges are working in many countries--ranging from Asia via Africa and Arabia to Latin America. Together with their colleagues in the developing countries they labor in instruction, education and research in order to train or help train cadres in the most varied fields of the social, mathematic-natural and technical sciences. A prime example is the cooperation between Leipzig's Karl-Marx University and the University of Addis Ababa. In addition to all kinds of fields, this is concerned in particular with the construction of a medical college at Gondar (on Tana Lake). Physicians from the Karl-Marx University and other GDR universities and medical academies train the majority of Ethiopian physicians at this college and, by their devoted efforts, do a tremendous amount of work besides to medically care for the residents of the city and province.

Intense activities are also involved in the delegation and reception of scholars and young scientists for purposes of research, postgraduate studies, lectures, and so on. This includes a sound exchange of knowledge, experiences and opinions to be subsequently passed on to the aspiring scholars.

Special courses of instruction in the most varied fields, such as the international summer school for the study of German or the summer courses offered by the Institute for Tropical Agriculture at Karl-Marx University are carried on in the GDR for the purpose of further education and the exchange of experiences, some of these are within the scope or sponsorship of international organizations or U.N. special organizations.

In 1983 the course given for economists from the developing countries at the Bruno Leuschner Advanced School for Economics was the 20th of its kind. Attendants (in some cases graduates of GDR universities) were familiarized with the latest trends--affecting both socialist economics as well as their countries and the world economy.

Other cornerstones of cooperation are reciprocal invitations to congresses and meetings with international participation, the exchange of publications and their joint preparation and publication, the production of teaching materials, and so on.

Consonant with its possibilities and mindful of developmental processes at the present time, especially in the field of politics, economics and science, the GDR will continue to closely cooperate with the developing countries in the matter of higher education. Evidently the emphasis must be on developing countries with a socialist trend or orientation. Already new key issues as well as types and methods of cooperation are developing or indicated. It will always be the overriding aim for such relations to contribute to the preservation of peace, understanding among the peoples and mutual profit. This is particularly crucial at this time when an unprecedented exacerbation of the danger of war has arisen, due to the arms race and the planned emplacement of new rocket types in Western Europe by the Reagan Administration and NATO as well as the increase in the foci of crisis in many regions of developing countries. Already in fall 1981 Humboldt University in Berlin--jointly with the Lomonosov State University in Moscow and Charles University in Prague-- appealed to universities and colleges in all parts of the world. This initiative was due to the profound concern of scientists with regard to the policy of aggression, the arms race and interference in the internal affairs of other states, practiced by the imperialist countries and multinational monopolies. Universities and colleges in Asian, African and Latin American countries assumed an important role in this initiative. GDR scholars feel themselves closely linked to them in their struggle for peace.

11698  
CSO: 2300/207

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST HOSTS UNESCO CULTURAL CONFERENCE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Dec 83 p 8

[Text] Under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the Institute for Cultural Research, an international conference began on Tuesday in Budapest on the subject of the cultural aspects of socio-economic development. The specialized organization of the UN determines the themes for the commonly carried out international research projects for many years at a time. Among these, one of the most prominent research areas is the investigation of the cultural dimensions of socio-economic development. UNESCO has assigned the coordination of this theme to Hungary.

Ivan Vitanyi, the director of the Institute for Cultural Research and the Hungarian speaker, summarized the significance of the theme and the conference as follows:

"The theme of the cultural dimension of socio-economic development plays an important role in UNESCO'S. For us the question has become especially important since, in accordance with a resolution at the Madrid Conference, in 1985, Hungary will host a cultural forum, and this meeting is concerned exactly with the international role of culture.

The present meeting also serves as preparation for the one in 1985.

Last year at the international cultural conference held in Mexico City, many participants agreed that culture provides a potential tool for the solution of a certain part of the hardships and problems that can be found in the present day world. Presently, without a doubt, the most inspiring initiatives for the strengthening of international cooperation and the development of knowledge, acquire through learning and through experience, can be found in the cultural area. Thus cultural cooperation can be prominent in bringing people together and in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding between nations so that we can preserve the peace.

12489  
CSO: 2500/132

HUNGARY

HISTORY SINCE 1944 POPULARIZED BY KISZ ON CASSETTE TAPES

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 11, 1983 pp 33-35

[Article by Janos Antal: "Historical Events of the Recent Past on Cassette Tapes"]

[Text] Today in all forms of education and training, but especially where large masses of people must be effectively provided with knowledge at the level of practical applicability, more and more often we reach for the modern instruments of presentation. From among these, the application of cassette tapes is the simplest, since their use does not present a complex problem even to the technically less trained propagandists.

The KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] organizations can also in their political training make good use of those cassettes on which various historical events, especially the recent ones, come to life.

The audio selection titled "The History of the Cold War" brings back those years in which the idea and the ideology of the Cold War were born and in which the world reached the edge of the precipice a number of times. The spirit of these times is haunting us again, even though in the 1970's it almost seemed that it was once and for all consigned to the past. The enemies of detente were forced to retreat, but they never laid down their weapons. Now they are again trying to cast doubt onto those conditions which are advantageous to a decisive majority of humanity.

The cassette tape was prepared using the lecture series that had been aired on Hungarian Radio.

The audio selection titled "Political Struggles in Hungary Between 1944 and 1948" is an adaptation of the episodes of the series "Chapters from the History of the Hungarian People's Democracy," which had been aired on the radio.

The two part audio material brings to life the fateful political struggles in chronological order from the last months of 1944 and the formation in Debrecen of the Temporary National Assembly and Government to the year of "change", the victory of the proletarian dictatorship and the unfolding of the building of socialism.

The audio cassette titled "Workers' Unity-United Workers Party" concerns the "final events" of this period, using original documentary material thirty five years ago, on 12 Jun 48, the congress of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party declared the unification of the two parties in a resolution and on that same day the congress of the united party, the Hungarian Workers Party, began. The events of many decades preceded this unification and in the circumstances of the times, it had epoch-making significance. The working masses saw ever more clearly that the two workers parties, with the unification of the strengths of the union, and with the support of the working peasantry and progressive intellectuals can achieve the rule of the working class and our people could embark on the road toward the building of socialism.

On the cassettes which recreate "those certain fifties" using radio plays and interviews, the documentaries are mainly from the period. Those years were out of the ordinary in terms of the calendar as well, since they began in 1948 and ended in 1956. History spans the supporting pillars of two events. The beginning was the creation of the rule by the workers in the summer of 1948 and the end was the counter-revolutionary rebellion of October 1956. In simplified form, we can characterize this era saying that great results were initiated and serious mistakes were committed in these years. However, the world was then and is now more complicated than this and for this reason as well, we cannot be satisfied with the above evaluation.

In the years 1947 and 1948, in many countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, among them in Hungary, the bourgeoisie essentially was forced out of power, the struggle waged for power was decided and the question of the building of Socialism was put on the agenda. In 1962, the VIIIth congress of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] determined that with the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the laying of the foundations of socialism was finished in our country. The counterrevolutionary rebellion which erupted in 1956 sharply divided the fifteen year period into two parts even though they were identical as far as their goals were concerned. In the whole period of consolidation which followed the military defeat of the counterrevolution, the basic task was the strengthening of the people's power. The guidelines necessary for this task were provided at the June 1957 national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

The cassette tape titled "Counterrevolution and Consolidation" is an edited version of the discussions which were aired on Hungarian Television in October 1981 and on Hungarian Radio in June 1982. On 30 October 1956, at 10:10 AM concerted weapons fire was directed at the Budapest headquarters of the Hungarian Workers' Party from behind the trees of Republic Square and the windows and roofs of the surrounding houses. After a gun battle lasting for several hours and the introduction of cannon, the counterrevolutionary units occupied the headquarters, they ransacked it and killed 25 of its defenders, among them Imre Mezo, the party committee secretary. The counterrevolutionary rebellion which erupted on 23 October 1956 showed its true face on this day. Many people realized only then what was behind the "revolutionary" and the "patriotic" slogans; whom and what behind the so called "heroic rebels."

Why did it come to the attack on the party headquarters and afterwards to the merciless and brutal killing of its defenders? This is the question answered by the audio selections titled "Republic Square, 1956" which was first aired on the radio many years ago and has since been repeated numerous times. It is a moving, 3-part, one-hour documentary play that uses audio documentary archive material.

In 1956, the party and the worker-peasant rule got into a serious situation. The leadership of the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party] deviated in many areas from the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and serious distortions occurred and mistakes were made in its politics, its decisions and its practical activities.

When the MDP set out on the road of overcoming the mistakes, outside and inside counterrevolutionary forces began a concentrated attack with the purpose of toppling the rule of the workers. The revolutionary forces of the MDP were disorganized by the intrigues of the revisionist group within the party and when it sided with the counterrevolution. In this serious situation, the consistently revolutionary forces of the Hungarian revolutionary workers movement, of the leadership and membership of the party performed a historical deed when they established a new revolutionary center. This new revolutionary center which was organized under the leadership of Janos Kadar became that stable point around which every persevering force, ready to do battle, everyone for whom the fate of socialism and the cause of the worker-peasant rule in Hungary were dear could crystallize. The renewed party leadership which accepted the task of reorganizing the party had the task, beyond the defeat of the counterrevolution, of reestablishing Marxist-Leninist principles concerning the party's inner life, its leadership role, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the work of building socialism, and on the basis of all of these to recreate the party's mass organization. The cassette tape titled "The Reorganization of the Party, 1956-1957" utilizes these events which took place more than a quarter of a century ago using original audio documentary material.

One of the first steps of the political consolidation following the defeat of the counterrevolution of 1956 was the reorganization of the party. Parallel to this, already in the period of the armed defeat of the counterrevolution, the arming of the Communists, the workers and peasants faithful to socialism had begun. The task of the Workers' Militia was to provide help to other armed forces of the People's Republic in defense of the people's rule, of order and of constructive work. In the documentary program prepared in honor of the quarter century jubilee of the organization, those who established it revive those times, on the basis and with the help of original audio documentaries.

Among the first steps of the consolidation, after the dissolution of the Union of Working Youth in October 1956, was the creation of the party's youth organization, the Hungarian Communist Youth League. Communist Youth worked in the sub-organizations (Hungarian Youth Worker League, Unified Peasant Youth's National League, Student League) and helped political consolidation and clear ideological understanding with their convincing and enlightening work. The work performed in the suborganizations could not, however, be a final solution, because it

dissolved the unity of youth. Only a unified Communist youth league under the direction of the HSWP was capable to effectively promote the education of youth and to provide for future party members and workers. The cassette tape prepared for the 25th anniversary of the 21 March 1957 flag raising for KISZ presents this event using archival documentaries.

We finally mention the 8 times 1 hour "Living History" series from among the audio selections which have appeared up until now and which are concerned with the recent past, that is, the historical events of nearly four decades. The documentary series which has been aired more than once on Hungarian Radio reviews the events of the period between 1944 and 1980, reviving the main stages in the building of socialism.

We recommend the above material for young as well as old, but especially for those propagandists who work in the political education of the youth league, who have volunteered to connect and to treat the great questions of the past and present in the course of their work.

The cassettes can be bought at the branches of the distribution network of Kossuth Publishers in various cities and districts, or they can be loaned from the county (Budapest) political education centers of KISZ or from its methodological bases.

Have Appeared:

1. Political Struggles in Hungary 1944-1948. I-II parts (2x60 min.)
2. From the History of the Cold War (60 min) + booklet
3. Workers' Unity-United Workers Party (60 min) + booklet
4. Ideas, Memoirs 1948-1956 (60 min) + booklet
5. Counterrevolution and Consolidation (90 min)
6. Republic Square 1956 (60 min) + booklet
7. The Reorganization of the Party 1956-1957 (60 min) + booklet
8. Workers' Militia-Workers Rule (60 min)
9. The 25. Anniversary of KISZ's Flag Raising (60 min) + booklet
10. Living History I - VIII. parts (8x60 min)

In Preparation:

11. From Cease-fire to Peace Treaty (1945-1947)--concerning the foreign policies of Hungarian People's Democracy.
12. Two Agrarian Revolutions in Hungary--concerning the distribution of large land holdings and the socialist reorganization of agriculture.
13. The Beginnings of Central Planning in Hungary--concerning the first 3 year and the first 5 year plans.
14. Nationalizations in Hungary--concerning the nationalizations of industrial plants, banks and the schools.
15. Changes in Political Life 1948-1956.

12489

CSO: 2500/132

## HUNGARY

### BORDER CITY EXPERIENCES TOURIST BOON

[Editorial Report] A full-page article in the 8 Jan 84 issue of the political weekly MAGYARORSZAG on page 32 entitled "Sopron Gate" examines the effect of the booming tourist trade on an old Hungarian city. Sopron, located nearly on the border between Austria and Hungary, was a "cold war city on the front" in the 1950's. Today, it is experiencing an unprecedented growth and revival to serve the nearly 1 million tourists passing through the city annually as a result of the relaxed border restrictions between the two countries. New hotels are springing up everywhere and old ones renovated and expanded to accommodate the mushrooming tourist traffic from Austria, FRG and other Western countries. Some of the new hotels charge upwards of 1,000 forints per night in season putting them out of reach for the average Hungarian with a monthly salary of 3-4,000 forints. The author of the article Jozef Borbely, however, states: "We are not afraid of the Austrians" because the tourists bring hard currency into the country. Nor do the "shopping tourists" pose a serious problem for the local population's supplies because there is an ample supply of consumer goods. Some complaints can nevertheless be heard occasionally and usually on the weekends when the tourists inundate the food stores. More concerned are the businessmen in Austrian Burgenland who are losing these sales to the cheaper Hungarian competition. Austrian border guards are vigilant to abuses and have been known to levy import duties on goods entering the country which exceed the accepted limits.

CSO: 2500/161

## DEMOGRAPHERS SHOCKED BY UNEXPECTED POPULATION GROWTH

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Wieslawa Mazur: "The Demographers Didn't Foresee...Population Explosion--Joy or Worries?"]

[Text] The specific demographic mobility of Polish society demonstrated itself during the first half of the 1950's. A record occurred then: during the course of a year, 800,000 citizens were born. There were 24 million of us..... Afterwards, the rise in births systematically decreased, although since the end of the war we have invariably maintained our place among the European leaders. Nevertheless, what is happening now is awakening lively social interest and discussion.

In the past year, 702,400 children were born. In the first half of the current year, as many as 366,400. At the end of June of 1983, Poland numbers 36,571,000 inhabitants. We are rapidly growing! What results from this: is this reason for satisfaction or is this cause for worry? On this topic RZECZPOSPOLITA's reporter consulted the opinion of an expert from the GUS [Main Statistical Office], deputy director of the Department of Demographic Research, Dr Wladyslaw Kondrat.

Most desirable for the country would be a harmonious demographic growth, and that was exactly what a large part of demographers predicted. But it happened otherwise.

The boom of the 1950's was caused chiefly by the prewar traditions of numerous offspring and a large number of so-called postponed marriages due to wartime causes. Still, already in the second half of the 1950's the number of births started to fall (very slowly). Ten years later the bottom of the "low" was reached; over 260,000 fewer children were born then in the course of a year than in the "record" years.

Next the curve rose, but demographers predicted that it would drop gradually over the next few years (about 6,000-7,000 births in the course of a year). Additionally, they predicted that in the middle of 1990's we would have no more than 600,000 new citizens born annually.

Meanwhile a surprise! During 1982, instead of the decline in births that was prophesied in this decade (due to this is the well known encouragement to planning families on the two plus three model), a violent jump was noted.

#### Where Are the Reasons?

The population boom, according to a GUS expert , is not caused by the crisis, although some demographers predicted a change in the birth rate with the first crisis symptoms (some predicted exactly the opposite...), but rather because of the social policies undertaken by the government, among others, the establishment of maternity leaves and assistance.

It is too early to link this with the increase in the number of children in families. Maternity assistance and leave rather lent themselves to changes in the birth calendar; the so-called intergenerational lulls became shorter, since women decide earlier--one after another--on births of subsequent children. It is worth noting that Polish women belong to the most active career women in the world. They decide on two children, one after another, wanting, in one time frame, to fulfill their maternal obligations related to caring for infants.

#### Analysis of Reports

The expert states that the observed jump in births has a temporary character. In every country, after the introduction of certain conveniences for families planning to grow, the same thing happens: the level of births rises, to return to the norm in 3 or 4 years. These are the experiences, among others, of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland, France and Hungary. There is no reason to believe that in Poland it could be different.

In the discussion about the population explosion, time after time there is the statement that "the economy and demography stand in one house." For this reason, demographers' reports are currently being studied with great attention. Individual departments must draw suggestions from them and bring them to realization. The thing is that in a crisis the matter is not easy.... Places in hospitals are needed (towards this end, every province is planning to build gynecological-obstetric pavilions); it is necessary to think of nurseries, pre-schools, schools, of teacher cadres which today still are not in over-abundance; clothes for children and infants are needed, various kinds of nourishment and books; in 20 years the little ones growing now will want to stand by machines and sit behind desks, and thus they will become the breadwinners for those of us who will have passed into the state of professional rest that is retirement age.

12594  
CSO: 2600/364

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Reports-Elections Campaign in Kielce

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (jcH); (cug), M Kida]

[Text] For party members it is important to workout ideological problems and debates as well as problems of the current state of the PZPR. This is reflected in the reports of the meetings in which the theme relates to the working peoples concerns.

The last of the party group meetings are being conducted in Skarzysko: at Predom [Predom-Mesko Metal Works], where of the total 184 lowest party cells, 155 audits have been completed. In the Skarzysko factories, meetings are also coming to a close at the Fosko [Fosko Skarzysko Shoe Factory], the Kamienna Foundry and Enamel Plant and at the PKP [Polish State Railroad] railroad junction. In the ongoing campaign, in addition to the audits and elections, other objectives are being considered. The secretary of the Skarzysko KM [City Committee], Janusz Kolodziej, stated: --"We are awaiting further intergration and strengthening of OOP [Departmental Party Organizations] and POP [Basic Party Organizations]; they would become more conspicuous in their areas. In two seemingly identical plants, after all of the upheavals of the last few years, it is still not infrequent for one of the organizations to pick itself up decidedly, while the other one is barely capable of calling a lethargic meeting from time to time."

During the campaign, all organizations have to come up with answers to several questions: How do their members complete their assignments? In what manner do they represent the interests of the PZPR in the workers self-governments, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and labor unions? Satisfactory results will occur when party groups start to function properly. They should emerge at all locations where party members are employed. Similar proposals were presented at meetings of OOP at the Skarzysko Building Plant. The comrades contemplated the formation of primary party cells at construction sites of this establishment.

While at the meetings of the party groups the affairs of production, day-to-day living problems and the local ones of POP dominate, more attention is given to ideoeducational and party internal problems. For example, at Fosko,

some of the comrades were criticized for their attitude. They were reproached for their indifference toward party activities and insignificant involvement in their vocational work. At the Kamienna Foundry, indications were seen for the need to better approximate party teachings to the realities of life. In addition to covering general subjects, it should give answers to questions concerning the present economic and political situation in the country as well as abroad.

#### In Jedzrejowo

The first secretary of the KMiG [City and Gmina Committee] of the PZPR, Tadeusz Swierczynski, reports that the reports-elections meetings had been convened in over 30 percent of the 78 existing POP. Not only party members but also other interested parties are concerned about the proceedings of these meetings. The activities of individual POP units has been invigorated.

At the beginning of the campaign, it is difficult to arrive at a far-reaching conclusion concerning matters under consideration. However, still dominant are economic questions related to a wide range of general and local interests. Generally criticized is the system of the renewed rationing of butter and other fats. At the POP meeting at the multibranch cooperative, thought was given for a way to attain more profits, since at the present time intermediary agencies make money on cooperative goods sold through them. The delay in construction work to increase the existing reservoir water supply was criticized because the inhabitants are now experiencing a severe water shortage.

The past behavior and attitudes of personnel, which included party members, was harshly "assessed" at the POP meeting held at the city communication department. Concern was expressed about feeble party efforts, unfortunately those of the party youth organizations, in this context, and the apparent lack of party organizations' interest in youth affairs. Directors pointed out the inadequacies of the communication system and presented proposals for improvements. As one example: the system is to receive new "berliets," in the meantime, the streets of Jedrzejewo are narrow and their surface in many cases is disastrous. It was agreed that the time had come to think about new routes and itineraries so that the lives of the residents could be made easier. The local RDP has to show more concern for the condition of the streets.

Referring to the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum, emphasized also was the fact that the party gives much time and attention to economic affairs, but less to ideology and human attitudes, and that the functions of many POP groups have the characteristics of a campaign, while the intended purpose is to have a systematic and consistent everyday work program. The need for fewer programs and more action was suggested.

New secretaries were also elected to POP. Many of them were given a renewed vote of confidence, while others left their public offices. Their replacements are mostly young people. Maybe this is a sign of a change for the better.

## In Radom Province

The party's reports-elections campaign in Radom Province has most certainly begun. In the largest of city party group echelons of Radom the campaign is already coming to a close. Of the 190 lowest cells, 167 have already completed their summations as have 40 OOP and 23 POP (of a total of 376). Most meetings have been conducted by administration center, trade and services, transportation and communications--the least in education and industry. As an example, at the General Walter Metal Works they recapitulated the past terms in office in 104 of 121 groups and in 3 of 53 OOP; in Radomskora 17 out of 36 OOP and at Radom Telephone Industries in 3 of the 8 OOP.

What is worthy of recognition? The abundant activities of PZPR members. Terms of praise for good attendance and lively discussions. What do they discuss? They talk about commonplace matters, about production and social problems worrying everybody. Thus, about wages that do not motivate, poor work discipline, the inertia of the social welfare services, material shortages, neglected opportunities in raw material economy; about the disastrous business operations in Radom which, as they say at the Gen Walter Works, "with supreme power took control and dictates to everybody its own terms," about the rampant behavior of speculators who receive rather liberal treatment.

With this in mind, the question is often asked: "Why have we discontinued the workers' Antispeculation Commissions?"

Complaints about administration work have been made, the way workers have been treated at administration offices, how people have been sent from one door to another. There have also been plenty of internal party problems. Much attention has been directed toward the attitude displayed by members of the PZPR, their discipline, their performance in the completion of individually accepted assignments of political functions. The realizations of their own and the higher echelon's resolutions are fairly judged. Indicated is a necessity for intensified educational efforts and increasing of party ranks, close ties with non-members of the party.

## Bydgoszcz Party Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 1, 5

[Article by BA, mat]

[Text] Reports-elections meetings of the basic and departmental party organizations by Bydgoszcz, Torun and Wroclaw are being held according to the schedule prescribed in the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum.

In Bydgoszcz Province, the working stage of the reports-elections meetings of party groups is just about finished, with 1,032 of 1,102 groups having completed their meetings. There are fewer replacements of comrades serving in party functions. This both assures and emphasizes a stabilization of party attitudes.

From among 3,123 OOP and POP in the province, 1,038 OOP and POP reports-elections meetings have already been held. First secretaries in 231 organizations have been replaced. Replacements were also made in seatings of 671 positions of POP and OOP executive boards.

There is a sporadic rescheduling of meetings in this campaign resulting from poor attendance. The average attendance at the meetings runs from 75 to 90 percent.

At the town and gmina of Naklo, approximately 35 percent of the POP have convened their reports-elections meetings, some of which were at POM [State Machine Stations] Lubaszcz, PZZ Mlyn, PKP, Organization of Communal and Housing Economy, Vocational School of the CZSP [Central Union of Labor Cooperatives], Elementary School No 4, Vocational School of Lubaszcz, Health Services Group, Invalids' Cooperative, Housing Cooperative, Territorial Party Organizations No 1 and No 2, as well as in small organizations in Paterek, Polichno, Wieszki and Wystep.

Meaningful discussions showing concern for the affairs of the area, region and nation, were held at the meetings. Accomplishments of the POP were evaluated, but particular attention was also given to the obligations of the party, since it is the voice and representative of society. The meetings proved that there is an awareness of the need to combat the opinions of the adversaries. This can only be accomplished by party members who are politically knowledgeable and have reliable information of prevailing social developments.

In eight of the nine party organizations active in the Kobra Pomeranian Leather Industry Works the reports-elections meetings have already been completed. In five of OOP, the first secretaries have been replaced. These changes, as rotations in executive ranks, are generally dictated for simple reasons such as the replacement of retirees or transfers of personnel to other positions. Work improvements at the OOP, better party discipline and management in party member ideology were debated at the meetings. The quality of products was criticized, the urgency for upgrading quality was stressed. The members voiced their concern about the rising cost of living and the decline in living conditions among many of the workers. The "anarchy" of fruit and vegetable prices in which no consideration is given for their availability, was also criticized. Demands were made to hold those who were responsible for the crisis and those who deepened it in 1980-1981 accountable to the fullest for its consequences.

At the POP reports-elections meeting of Tuchmet, Invalid Cooperative discussion was mainly on methods for increasing the ranking and authority of party organizations in the institution, for instance, through flawless businesslike performances of party members and consistent achievement of POP proposals and resolutions. The discussions also noted that the government should pursue price stabilizations with greater vigor because, at the present stage, the promotion of economic reform has had a negative effect on the family budget. The fact that foremen at the plant earn less than the workers they supervise was also considered to be an abnormality. The elections did not result in any basic changes in the POP executive staff, with the exception of the position of first secretary, which was entrusted to Comrade Z. Stefan.

The POP reports-elections committee meetings at Cieleszyn in Pruscz Gmina were a characteristic rural party function. Mentioned with concern in the discussions were occurrences of serious numerical declines of rural POP and the reasons for this decline. Members of POP recognized the absolute necessity to give more assistance to and to strengthen ties with the ZMW. In response to the farmers' feelings, the question of farm production profitability was raised. The farm areas are already noticing the effects of joint PZPR and ZSL policies. There has been a decided improvement in coal supply, fertilizers, many varieties of machinery and farm implements. However, there is an uneasiness over the poor quality of farm technical equipment and the upsurge in its cost. The farm equipment price increases and the additional tax rise were considered absurd. Members of POP accepted the responsibility for the restructuring of the farm association and village administration. Comrade Eugenjusz Kosinski was elected to the position of first secretary of the POP in Cieleszyn.

In the Wloclawek territory, the reports-elections campaign within the POP and OOP is nearing the halfway point. On the 12th of this month, the first reports-elections institutional conference will be held at the Kujawy Plant for Food Concentrates. In other large production centers, such as Celuloza, Azoty and Ceramika, the recapitulation of their 2 1/2 year terms in office is planned for the end of the month. Socioeconomic problems were dominant during the reports-elections meeting at OOP No 2 of the Wloclawek Table Ceramic Factory. It is comprised of 59 comrades who work in the decorating and transportation departments. In the course of discussions, most strongly stressed was the matter of needed improvements in discipline as well as in quality and production. In the case of the design department where renumeration is based on quantity and design values produced daily for a variety of products, this has a particular meaning. There were also several remarks on the subject of staff integration and improvement in human relations, brought up by the factory committee. A stipulation was also made for more frequent and consistent reviewing of party members' activities in the public organizations in order to have such an essential area of the lives of the whole work force actually assessable. This also ties in directly with the indicated necessity for strengthening internal discipline. The duties of first secretary of OOP No 2 have been trusted to Comrade Andrzej Grabowski.

The old Ursus factory located at Kilinski Street in Wloclawek will eventually be moved to new buildings adjoining Route P-II. This move has been impatiently awaited for a long time, (anticipating approval of) a new capital outlay. It is not unusual that a subject of this kind should be discussed during the report-elections meetings of OOP No 3 at the Ursus Mechanical Works. Thoughts were given to the possibility of attaining the targeted production quota of the plant within a short time. Proper selections and actual working conditions are the keys to this problem. Matters of concern to the workers were also discussed, for instance, transportation to the new factory, which is quite a distance from the center of town. In the course of the meeting, the major role for finding solutions to present problems at Ursus was relegated to the party organizations. It is actually here, it was stated, where the judgments and initiatives which will guarantee efficient and problem-free operations of enterprises must come. From among 58 comrades, Jan Langernowicz was elected first secretary of OOP No 3.

Polish-Soviet Society Campaign

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J]

[Text] The 14th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR] in Krakow held its meeting last Saturday. In the City Administration Council Hall, delegates to the conference representing all surrounding areas in Krakow Province convened. Among them was the vice chairman of the TPPR Central Administration [ZG], Poland's first cosmonaut, Col Miroslaw Hermaszewski. In attendance also were: Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of KK [Krakow Committee] of the PZPR; Jan Czepiel, secretary of the PZPR KK; Apolinary Kozub, chairman of the city of Krakow's RN [People's Council]; Tadeusz Salwa, governor of the city of Krakow, as well as party and political faction representatives. Present were Giorgiy Rudov, minister plenipotentiary and consul general of the USSR for the city of Krakow and Mikhail Krapivin, USSR embassy advisor in Poland.

The attendance honored with a minute of silence the memories of last term's deceased officers: Tadeusz Mandecki, acting chairman of ZK TPPR; Eugenjusz Kedzior, member of the TPPR ZK and chairman of the education commission, and Aleksander Stefaniuk, member of the Provincial Revision Commission.

Eleven persons were decorated with the TPPR's Golden Medal of Honor.

Next, Golden Decorations of Honor were bestowed upon work establishments singled out for this award, which were presented to them through their attending representatives. Those meriting this award are: The Association of Agricultural Technical Assistance in Krakow, The Stomil City Maintenance Department , the Szadkowski Machine and Mechanical Device Building Works and the Krakow Furniture Factory. Golden decorations "For Meritorious Social Services for the Krakow Territory" and "Meritorious Services for the City of Krakow," were awarded to a number of TPPR activists.

In his speech, the first secretary of the PZPR KK, Jozef Gajewicz, stated among other things: "Polish-Soviet friendship stems from the historic experiences of our nation and the nations of the USSR, from the close affiliation of a class and proletarian character between Poland and the USSR. We constantly reach back in memory to the glory of the Polish and Soviet armed forces when we fought the greatest enemy of humanity; German fascism.

"Our fatherland is experiencing difficult times. In just such times, the USSR is giving us a helping hand. In the time of U.S. economic and political restrictions levied against Poland, in face of worldwide economic tensions, the USSR in an overwhelming measure has covered our industrial and raw material import needs together with many machinery requirements and arranged for food supplies. The fundamental principle of USSR international policy, which emanates from the CPSU program, is the maintenance of peace. Consequently, the primary obligation of the TPPR is the popularization of this stance which is a shield of defense not only for the socialist countries, but for all countries of the world in their quest for peace and social justice."

Giorgiy Rudov, minister plenipotentiary and consul general in Krakow, brought attention to several dimensions of cooperation and actions of USSR-Polish friendship. Colonel Hermaszewski is vice chairman of the TPPR, cosmonaut Beregovoy is chairman of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. The father of Piotr Klimuk, a partner in Colonel Hermanowski's outer space flight, died fighting for Poland's freedom and is buried in Radom; the father of the Polish cosmonaut also died in the war. The consul general with great anxiety spoke about the peace and disarmament proposals suggested by Yuriy Andropov. To a large degree the TPPR has been active in the dissemination of these ideas. The USSR consul general in Krakow declared assistance and support for the lofty objectives of the society. The report of the retiring administration of Krakow's TPPR was read by Stanislaw Piwowarski, secretary of the ZK. In the ideological program portion of the report it had a reference to the TPPR ZG's plenary debate which provided a complete activities program. This program stands for the retention of the TPPR's existing character as a social organization of the masses which is open to everyone, which exerts pressure for the expansion of ideoeducational work and knowledge enrichment on the subject of Polish-Soviet relations and of the Soviet Union as a whole. The TPPR Krakow administration's document of February 1983 regarding its society's assignment matters, confirmed that the principle points requiring attention of the authorities and the activist body are steps to restore order to conditions within the organizations, bring circle networks, institutional and territorial administrations to function properly.

The discussion which followed the report statement touched upon quite a few problems, among others, on economic cooperation, the necessity for the expansion of cultural exchanges between Kiev and Krakow, promotion of the society in rural areas, a necessity to take over the activities of the Youth Centers Society, rural centers and creative intellectuals. Individual attention should be given to the announcement of Col Miroslaw Hermaszewski, vice chairman of the TPPR ZG. He described the society as an important political force. The TPPR embraces all social political forces. The social, ideolistic character of the society describes the voluntary selection of involvement within its ranks. In movements for the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship, young people should be treated with special concern.

Jan Czepiel, secretary of the PZPR KK, was elected chairman of the Krakow Administration. Elected vice chairmen were: Mieczyslaw Nowakowski, Jan Nowak, Stanislaw Marcinkowski and Adam Ostrowski. Stanislaw Piwowarski was elected secretary.

The Krakow TPPR Conference adopted the program resolution. Also accepted was the appeal for peace, which spells out among other things, that: "The entire political philosophy of the movement in which we are involved, the whole profound idea of Polish-Soviet friendship, rests as if on a foundation of the desire for peace and on a wisely determined attempt for its preservation." The preamble to the appeal declares its support for the tremendous waves of protest against those who intensify the danger of war. The conference closed with the singing of the Internationale.

## Szczecinek Party Campaign

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by B. Urbanek]

[Text] Szczecinek--The reports-elections campaign of the party has begun. Meetings of the groups have already been held. Their proceedings bear witness to the increasing role and advances gained in politicoideological attitudes by the basic cells of the party in work establishments and the community. These gains can be credited to party political work which was conducted in a very difficult period, abounding in tensions, but providing a richness of experience.

"In the PZPR Gmina Committee [KG] in Szczecinek, the reports-elections campaign began with a thorough analysis and evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in all areas. In October we conducted interviews with all the POP secretaries," states the first secretary of the PZPR KG Henryk Iwaniuk. "Directors of the institutions and organization supervisors from the KG executive body attended these meetings. We had joint discussions covering party work, realizations of economic matters and the activities of PZPR members in labor unions, workers self-governments, PRON cells and social organizations. Fulfillments of party resolutions were evaluated, their own as well as those undertaken by higher echelons. Attainment of assignment objectives stipulated in these resolutions depends upon the initiative shown in ideopolitical work, ideological activities and constant improvements in the subject of matters to be considered, form and method of operation by the whole gmina party organization. A clear majority of the POP deserve a high performance rating. I would like to at least mention the POP at the Seed Center, PBRol, the Wierzchowo Agricultural Plant, Cooperative of Rural Transportation and the rural organization in Turowo. Within the last term of office we accepted for party membership nearly 30 candidates, most of whom were young laborers and farmers. A new party organization at the Regional Advisory Group of the WOPR [Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress], has been created. We have completed preliminary meetings. We are making arrangements so that on 25 November the reports-elections meetings will come to a close at the POP and in the middle of December we will make plans for the gmina conference. In connection with the expiring statutory term of party authorities, the gmina committee issued in the form of a letter, sincere thanks to party organizations and all members and candidates for their assistance, involvement and a party attitude in realizing the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress program."

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Polish-Soviet Society Reports Election Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 11 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (tab): "The 12th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society]: Polish-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] The 12th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the TPPR was held yesterday at the Poznan Palace of Culture and was attended by 102 delegates. Among others, the following attended the deliberations: Stanislaw Kalkus, Central Committee Politburo member; Andrzej Gaszczolowski, PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] secretary; Tadeusz Zajac, president of the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee], Alojzy Bryl, chairman of the SD WK; Tadeusz Cwojdak, chairman of the WRN [Provincial People's Council]; Stanislaw Piotrowicz, lieutenant governor; Lucjan Majewski, vice mayor of Poznan; Miroslaw Kopinski, vice chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] RW [Provincial Council], and Major Jozef Skonecki, acting vice chairman of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] ZW [Provincial Administration] of the Club of Polish Veterans of the Soviet Army.

Brig Gen Tadeusz Dziekan, member of the TPPR ZG [Main Administration] presidium; and Stanislaw Lewandowski, TPPR ZG secretary, represented TPPR central authorities.

Ivan Tkaczenko, USSR general consul in Poznan, and Mikhail Gluskov, TPRP consulate representative, also participated in the deliberations.

Delegates from veteran, social and youth organizations and from the Polish People's Army also attended the conference.

Jerzy Kujawski chaired the deliberations. The chairwoman of the outgoing administration, Maria Rynkiewicz, delivered the program paper. She stated, among other things, that the last office term closed one of the most difficult periods in the society's almost 40-year history. The outgoing administration leaves a balancesheet of accomplishments as well as of weaknesses. The forms of social life that require TPPR's most urgent attention were indicated frankly and without hesitation. Those undertakings that turned out to be

ineffective were also discussed. An awareness of this is a basic condition for improving the quality of our activities.

A lively discussion ensued after the report on the activities of the Provincial Revision Commission was delivered by Przemyslaw Matysiak. Twenty people participated in the discussion. It was indicated that there was a need to eliminate meaningless activity from daily operations. The need to activate plant and school circles was discussed. Much attention was also devoted to the work of the University Students for Friendship and of the Polish-Soviet Club for Economic Cooperation. All agreed that the realization of the TPPR's program tasks requires the integration of the different social groups, based on socialist patriotism.

The attendees listened to USSR Consul General Ivan Tkaczenko's presentation attentively. In the name of the TPRP [Society for Soviet-Polish Friendship], he greeted the delegates warmly. Comrade Tkaczenko devoted much attention to the Polish-Soviet Defense Brotherhood.

Then, Andrej Gaszczolowski, PZPR KW secretary, referred to the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Among other things, the speaker said that TPPR's activities that emphasize the significance and role of Polish-Soviet friendship in all areas of our social life deserve special recognition.

The final speaker was Stanislaw Lewandowski, TPPR ZG secretary, who praised the Poznan TPPR's work during the last term. The speaker greeted the delegates cordially, and wished success to TPPR's activists in their work to promulgate friendship between the Polish and Soviet nations.

After voting to accept the accounting of the outgoing administration, a new TPPR administration was elected. Maria Rynkiewicz was elected chairman of the ZW, and Alojzy Bryl, Zdzislaw Nowak and Stanislaw Pitrowicz were elected vice chairmen. Przemyslaw Matysiak remained WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] chairman. At the same time 21 delegates were selected to the 11th National TPPR Congress.

During the conference a dozen or so activists were given state and regional awards. Przemyslaw Matysiak was awarded the Chivalry Cross of Reborn Poland.

After the program resolutions were adopted, in reply to greetings sent from Czarkow, a telegram was sent to that city congratulating its residents and TPPR activists for being awarded the Order of the October Revolution.

The appeal made by the delegate from the HCP [H. Cegielski Works, Poznan] was also adopted. Among other things it states: "We, TPPR members at the Cegielski Works in Poznan and participants in the 12th Provincial TPPR Reports-Elections Conference, appeal to all TPPR members and to all workers to support the government's peace policy through your position and involvement. Specifically, let us rally behind the initiatives and goals of the Soviet Union to limit the arms race and to make world peace permanent. May one man never shoot at another man!"

## Basic Questions in Party

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by Danuta Olejniczak: "Seeking Answers to Basic Questions"]

[Text] The days are full of events, above all there is an overflow of work. For those who began to realize immediately after the Ninth PZPR Congress the policy of struggle established at the congress, the compact and the reforms, the current term of office passed by in no time at all. If one compares the situation in Poland during the past reports-elections campaign in the party's basic echelons with the situation today, then it seems to be ancient history. But if one considers the vast number of tasks that have been presented to party members in the meantime, and how step-by-step these tasks were undertaken laboriously and under difficult conditions, then irresistibly the reflection comes to mind: this was as it was not too long ago.

To look back, to analyze and to evaluate what was done is a normal, statutory party obligation. This requires further, better programming of work. This is how the process of political strengthening actually proceeds and how the effectiveness of an organization is improved, because not only are the results of actions evaluated but so are people--specifically and by name. Secretaries, executive boards, commissions and delegates to higher level conferences are selected from among the best and most active.

Party groups already have submitted their initial proposals during the course of the present campaign; in Katowice Province alone the campaign in nearly 4,000 OOP [Departmental Party Organizations] and in about 3,500 POP [Primary Party Organizations] is at the halfway mark. The plant conferences are beginning or will begin soon.

Thus far the course of the meetings can be characterized as being hard-working, unostentatious, realistic in their evaluations and more critical than during the mid-term reports-programs campaign. The results of the 13th Central Committee Plenum encourage such an atmosphere. He who would have expected that ideological questions would be treated in an innovative and upsetting way after the plenum, which would have thrust discussions to a side or deadend track, was extremely disappointed. After all, ideology deeply affects all areas of life, thus the main point of the 13th Plenum is based on systemizing tasks in all of the most important spheres of party activity.

Thus the questions: What have we accomplished, how have we done it, and what lies ahead of us? are basic questions. Let us be honest: the answers to these questions vary according to the community concerned. But as much as it can be stated forthrightly that some worker organizations underwent a metamorphosis and could justifiably brag about their accomplishments, focusing their attention on specifics and on tasks to accomplish, the situation still is not well in organizations dominated by intellectuals, for example, in the health service. In association with this, one can perceive an interesting though disturbing phenomenon. That is, during the elections that were held

this year in an atmosphere of great gravity and responsibility, the intellectuals did not tend to nominate workers for the function of members of executive boards and of secretaries in accordance with the obligatory regulations. And it is known that these are the most difficult, time-consuming and work-intensive functions. Also, representatives of management, cadres and supervision are selected a bit too often as delegates. Does this come about from the conviction that they will represent the interests of the working class better, more eloquently and emphatically? Nonetheless, those comrades who are selected are trusted wholeheartedly not only by their own comrades but also by their nonparty colleagues.

The party cannot be unconcerned about even the most minor human problems, because helping to resolve these problems is one of the party's primary tasks. The party's immediate, sharp and critical reaction to the injustice associated with the reintroduction of control on fats is an example. In reality, this was no minor matter, and thus that is why it was discussed at meetings at which it was not supposed to be the main topic. By the way, this is a warning to all who are recommended for responsible positions as to how much evil can be caused in the entire country by the indolence, irresponsibility and arrogance of a few people.

We must be critical about everything, about every minor and major organization, plant and community affair. It must be so and that is what is being done. Perhaps we should also require the comrades to link criticism more courageously with specific situations and individuals. Let us not seek to eliminate waste, mismanagement or antisocialist forces "in general," somewhere further on in Poland and abroad. While it is true that they are beyond the reach of our influence, there is much that we can change at the party, OOP and POP levels at our workplaces.

#### Party Elements Involved in Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (kim): "The PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign; Concerning Practical Matters"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign is in full swing in the entire party, in its primary echelons. In the rural areas and in the cities, an accounting is in progress at a time in which the most vital affairs of working people are being considered. The daily annoyances, however, do not diminish their outlook. The economic affairs of the region and the country, attitudes and the need to raise the level of socioeconomic knowledge are all discussed with equal ardor at meetings.

We attend these meetings, monitor their courses, and we record those matters brought up by the speakers that we believe are the most important. The following is not so much a report of the meetings as it is comments, observations and opinions.

## Observing Oneself, the Organization and the Enterprise

At the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Skarzyski railway junction, reports-elections meetings have been held by 10 OOP, including the crews of the electric and diesel trains, the railcoach crews and the motorcar crews. Work problems that are often linked directly with the operation of individual services predominate. Ideological problems, those that are mentioned in the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum, are not avoided. The activities of some party members and the tolerant accounting of party tasks that are supposed to be executed are evaluated critically. The number of open meetings which could be attended by the entire workforce, including nonparty people, was insufficient. The comrades from the electric and diesel train crew OOP talked about this. In the past term, too little attention was being paid to rebuilding the party's ranks. During election meetings for PZPR candidates, two individuals were accepted: Emilia Grudniewska of the PKP passenger terminal service, and Roman Ruraz, a young machinist.

What will result from the outgoing reports-election election campaign at the PKP Skarzyski railway junction? Jozef Reszka, KZ [Plant Committee] secretary said: "The lively discussions at the meetings are proof of the activity of the party members. They manage to look critically at themselves, at the party organization and at the enterprise. They speak about the need to rebuild OOP ranks and trade unions. Proposals were also made to activate the enterprise's ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and TPPR organizations. The comrades attach much importance to the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum concerning cadre policies."

The problem of obtaining help in obtaining a weekend rest center at the lagoon in Mostkice has reemerged at the meetings of the PKP Skarzyski railway junction OOP. The fate of the Zwiazkowiec movie theater and the former Sokol sports hall are not known. These buildings require remodeling and continue to need to be managed. The explanations that these are buildings of the former branch trade unions, that we must wait till a federation of new railroad trade unions is formed and then the fate of these fixed assets will be determined, are probably a dodge in order not to resolve the indicated problem.

At the PKP railway junction, there are also examples of better management. At the initiative of the OOP and the new trade unions, the technical and social facilities have improved in the garage. Cloak rooms, washbasins and a dining room have been installed. In a short while, working conditions will also improve because a new shop with five repair stations will be provided. Earlier, the battery shop and diagnostic stations were organized in a more efficient way.

The need to modernize the Skarzyski railway junction is discussed at most OOP meetings. Tadeusz Sadura adds: "The plan calls for the construction of a track system in which passenger traffic is supposed to be separated from freight traffic. A second stage for the expanding electric locomotive depot is anticipated. At the Skarzyski station, the so-called sectional signalling is now being changed to light signaling with transmitter equipment. Thus traffic safety will improve. The plan also calls for the modernization of the repair shops and the building of an overhaul depot; overhauls are now done under open skies.

## Dilemmas of the Rural Areas

I attended the reports-elections meeting of the rural POP in Dalechowice in Kazimierza Wielki Gmina. The residents of this rural area are known for their social initiatives. With the participation of activists, a school and several hundred meters of road were built. This year the farmers also helped to build another 400 meters of roadway; they also have declared their intention to help construct a 700-meter railway spur. They also want to participate in building the Strazacki depot; much attention was actually devoted to this problem at the discussion. Unfortunately, despite several years of efforts by the village administrator and PZPR members, the gmina has not allocated any money or construction materials for this purpose.

"There is no community center in this area," the meeting participants said. "The young people have no where to meet, to hold discussions, to dance, and there are many young farmers here. The reclamation of land is another matter that requires a quick resolution. One cannot drive on some fields and meadows even with light equipment."

The farmers admit that all types of fertilizer are plentiful lately, but this year there were difficulties with lime supplies; the soil here is acidic and requires lime to ensure higher yields. It was stated that supplies of insecticides also improved. Buckets were available for sale at the Dalecnowice store, and the problems of pitch-fork supplies are not as troublesome as they were. Sufficient supplies of coal are available at the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] storage yards. The intermittent shortage of thread or electric bulbs still causes some problems for the areas residents, but they admitted unanimously that food supplies and production equipment have improved significantly in the past months.

In the plan of action for the next few months, ample room was devoted to the need to work with young people, whose participation in the area's social life has been almost imperceptible lately. It was promised that party meetings would be held more frequently in the area than heretofore, and that ZSL members and nonparty people would be invited to them.

## Opinions

"The reports-elections meetings of the party's rural organizations in the gmina have a specific character," says Jan Smorag, KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] agricultural secretary in Jedrzejow. "About 60 to 70 percent of the members attend. At times a meeting has to be postponed because of lack of a quorum. I believe that after the reports-election campaign has ended, it will be necessary to execute a thorough evaluation of the status of the party in the rural areas at the gmina level in individual provinces and on a national scale. The status is unsatisfactory for many reasons. At one time, we began to transplant to the rural areas the organization models developed in the factories and cities, neglecting the specifics of the community, the rhythm of production work, the knowledge and worldview of rural residents, and the cultural infrastructure. One can view this problem from the historical side. In the beginning, right after the war, we endeared ourselves in the rural

areas to the poor and the owners of middle-sized farms, forming with them a front against the wealthy kulaks. Later a different direction was taken, in the direction of specialists and high-volume producers. The lack of a clear and unequivocal policy is now producing bitter fruit. A stable agricultural situation requires a strong party in the rural areas."

"For many reasons, lately we have devoted most meetings to economic matters, neglecting ideology," said Zygmunt Gdela at the POP reports-elections meeting at Kielce's POLMOZBYT. "But it should be remembered that ideology is a mighty force. During the training periods we strive for the upper levels. We talk about Marx and Lenin, but people are not well acquainted with the party statute. Thus people must be reminded of the law as well as of the obligations each one assumed voluntarily. In addition, people should be given specific party tasks, and the execution of these tasks should be verified."

#### Concern About Today

In Radom Province, the reports-elections campaign has entered the decisive phase in the PZPR cells. The meeting of party groups will end this week. Currently, 94 percent of the lowest echelons have finished reviewing the past term. New groups have been selected in 52 of 296 echelons. In most cases they are workers. In the remaining cases, the comrades who have had these functions till now have been favored with the trust. But at the OOP and POP levels 538 meetings (26 percent) have been held. The ROPP [regional center for party work] in Lipsko has the most cells that have completed reviewing the past term, that is, 51 percent. In Kozienice, it is 38 percent, and in Szydlowic, 34 percent; Przysucha, 33 percent; Bialobregi, 32 percent; Grojec, 22 percent; Zwolenie, 14 percent; the Radom region, 27 percent; and in the city echelons, 28 percent. In the gminas of Gniewoszow, Sieciechow and Stara Blotnica party debates in the POP have ended; preparations for gmina conferences are being made. The first gmina conference will be held tomorrow in Gniewoszow. On the other hand, the first plant conference is deliberating today. The comrades from the Construction and Rework Combine of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Industry in Wierzbica are outlining the new directions of work for the new term.

The present campaign is characterized not only by good attendance, but mostly by the great amount of activity of the party members. The comments, often very critical, maintain an objective tone, are permeated with concern about what today and tomorrow will bring for their own workplace, community and the entire country. The implementation of proposals and resolutions submitted by their own organization as well as higher echelons are evaluated realistically. The discipline of individual members, their commitment and their attitudes are analyzed. Much attention also is devoted to ideological activity. The attractive forms and contents of the training that will affect the realization of the adopted program should produce results in shaping the attitudes of members, equip them with essential knowledge and arguments that are essential for work among nonparty colleagues.

Other threads of discussion, in addition to intraparty affairs, are socio-economic problems the problems of everyday life and the travails of life.

There is no lack of proposals and valuable initiatives to overcome these difficulties, to invigorate the processes for implementing the economic reforms, to increase the efficiency of enterprises.

In the adopted resolutions, the specific obligations of PZPR members to elevate the party's authority, and to rebuild public trust are emphasized.

#### Krosno Campaign on New Tasks

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 11 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (a-er): "The Provincial TPPR Reports-Elections Conference in Krosno; New Contents, New Tasks"]

[Text] The Third Provincial TPPR Reports-Elections Conference deliberated yesterday in Krosno. It was attended by 191 delegates, representing all of the province's socioprofessional communities.

The conference deliberations were chaired by Jan Trzemzalski, SD WK secretary. Among the other participants were Jan Luczynski, PZPR KW secretary; Jerzy Guzik, ZSL WK secretary; and Ryszard Szypula, lieutenant governor of Krosno Province.

Tadeusz Orloff, deputy of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and TPPR ZG secretary, represented TPPR's chief authorities. Also present was Kazimierz Iwanowicz Pirozak, vice chairman of the TPPR District Administration and rector of the Lwow Academy of Economics, who relayed the sincere greetings and best wishes for fruitful deliberations from the TPPR members in the Lwow area. The speaker referred to the commendable tradition of friendship between our nations.

Outstanding TPPR activists received state awards. Zbigniew Biskup received the Order of the Chivalry Cross of Reborn Poland. Jerzy Steciak was awarded the Golden Cross of Service, and Barbara Krzanowska-Kuszy was awarded the Bronze Cross of Service. Twenty-two individuals received TPPR Gold honorary awards.

The introductory speech made by Wieslaw Skalkowski, chairman of the outgoing TPPR Provincial Administration, as well as the speeches of the other participants reflected the past, difficult period of the society's activities as well as the reports-elections campaign that was conducted. It confirmed that the province's organization persevered during a time of great trial and managed to overcome existing difficulties, proving that its members can be counted on to implement the new tasks.

The campaign was very stimulating; it encouraged the aktivs to consolidate, to renew and rebuild many cells, and to obtain new activists. The TPPR now has 10,000 individual members in 95 circles in the sub-Carpathian area. Over 15,000 students are active in 722 TPPR school circles. The organization also includes 84 group members.

In the opinion of the speakers, mutual direct contacts between TPPR and TPRP aktivs; "friendship" bus and train tours; and the celebration of anniversaries and holidays serve to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the USSR. It was emphasized that these forms of activities should be continued and systematically expanded. This was expressed in the resolution and in the program of activities for the 1983-1986 period. The conference also adopted a resolution supporting actions whose goals are to make peace permanent.

A new administration for the TPPR's provincial echelons as well as seven delegates for the national congress were selected. Jan Luczynski was entrusted with the function of chairman of the Provincial Administration.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Conference at Pasym

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by jer: "Party Conference at Pasym; The Time Was Not Wasted"]

[Text] In many regions of our province, an election-reporting campaign is in progress in basic party organizations. Nevertheless, in some of them it went beyond that stage and took on the aspect of factory conferences in agricultural and industrial enterprises. Conference sessions have already been conducted in the following state farms [PGR]: Sepopol, Dylewo, Nikutowo, Zalewo, Bartoszyce, Gorowo Ilaweckie, Lidzbark Warminski, as well as in the meat plants in Morliny and the Farel Works in Ketrzyn. Also basic party organization [POP] election-reporting meetings have been concluded in several gminas. Last Saturday a gmina conference took place in Pasym, the first in that province.

In addition to delegates, the following participated in its deliberations: Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party provincial committee [KW]; Michal Zuk, director of the chancellery of the KW; Tadeusz Pogorzelski, director of the Regional Center for Party Work [ROPP] in Szczytno. Invitations were likewise extended to representatives of the gmina committee [KG], United Peasant Party, gmina people's council [GRN], Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP] gmina board, Gmina Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations.

The scope of the conference, the report of the KG and Gmina Agricultural Circles [GKR], discussion, specific resolutions, good attendance, as well as the eloquence of those summarizing the succession of facts proved that the Pasym party organization did much to strengthen its managerial role in the gmina and its authority in the local community. The deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of concern for the responsibility which the delegates had assumed, having been granted the full confidence of their basic party organizations. There was no shirking of the burden

of responsibility during the elections. Therefore, the words in the report of the outgoing gmina committee, which was delivered by the incumbent first secretary of the gmina committee, truly acclaimed that the time since the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party had not been wasted. It is also worth one's while to mention a conclusion most surely characterizing the type of work and the method of reasoning underway at Pasym: the future of our country depends not only on the inflexible will of all party members and the whole of society in implementing the tasks outlined. In the report, therefore, as if applying the need for honesty first to itself, an account of compliance with the resolution of the previous conference was given as it relates to internal party problems, agriculture, industry, housing construction, trade, education and culture. An attempt was also made to answer the question regarding the status of the party gmina organization. In fact, it shrank from 238 to 188 comrades, but gained 15 candidates, of whom 10 were workers. Three individuals--Jan Rak, Stefan Szezepanek and Kazimierz Broniarezyk--were granted candidate's identification papers for the conference. Jan Laskowski and Roman Starczak performed this function.

The issue of non-dues paying passive comrades, who do not participate in basic party organization life, was not permitted to take its own course. Personal interviews were conducted, which in relation to a portion of the individuals, namely 23, were effective and found expression in renewed activity. Many basic party organizations can pride themselves on their flexibility of action, as for example in the agricultural plant in Pasym, the Cooperative of Agricultural Circles [SKR], the Gmina Cooperative [GS] and the Gmina General School. Significant improvement in the situation is observed in the basic party organization in Grom. Basic party organization activities were revived in the limestone-sand plant in Pasym, where five candidates were recently accepted. However, there are also weak basic party organizations requiring assistance. This year basic party organization work took a turn for the worse in the Gmina Department of Administration. The criterion of activity, to some degree, is represented by the election-reporting meetings recently held. Their attendance was relatively good. In only one basic party organization was it necessary to call another meeting due to substantial lack of attendance, which was justified anyway, as was later proven. The discussion was not limited to everyday matters entirely, but concentrated on an analysis of the causes of weakness, and delved broadly into ideological subject matters. At this point, it might not be irrelevant to mention that two plenary sessions of the gmina committee were devoted to ideological matters. Itinerant meetings in the villages were organized for the executive board of the gmina committee. Open meetings, traditionally referred to as the public tribune, convened at Elganowo, Dybowo and Grom, with the participation of gmina officials, the management of employment plants and echelons serving agriculture. At these meetings a host of issues essential to the residents of individual villages were attended to.

More attention is devoted to improving party education. However, the situation where everyone anxiously awaits training which would broaden his perspective and dispel doubts which present themselves to everyone in a natural manner is yet remote. He will be better able to understand that which is taking place around him in the sphere of production as well as ideology. The truth is such, it was stated in the report, that existence shapes consciousness, but without adequate consciousness we are not capable of shaping our existence and our daily lives in an adequate fashion. In the discussion, in which 15 delegates expressed their opinions, Stanislaw Marek referred to the causes of the unattractiveness of instructions. In his opinion, the neglect of the previous period, when instructions were chiefly limited to agricultural subject matters, is having its revenge. Nevertheless, ideological matters were omitted. Now the neglect is being compensated for, but with difficulty, because there continues to be a lack of accessible literature translated into simple common language.

The gmina echelon provided assistance to the young people in reconstructing the ZSMP organization and reactivating its activities. And as proof that it already exists and expands its work, Jan Rak, invited guest and chairman of the gmina board of the ZSMP, took the floor in discussion. He could tell about its expansion from 60 to 129 persons. They serve to strengthen the circles, and if they become sectors offering appeal to the young people, they could intercede in initiating social, cultural and sporting life.

Cooperation with the United Peasant Party improved, as was stressed in the report of the gmina committee, as well as by Jan Byc, chairman of the gmina committee of United Peasant Party, in his address, as well as cooperation with the gmina council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, especially during the organization of the gmina harvest festival, the first in years, as well as in conjunction with preparation for the 600th anniversary of Pasyn scheduled for next year. Jozef Wientczak, chairman of the Gmina Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations, likewise shared the feeling of satisfaction with the cooperation. Finally, union subject matter found reflection in two more voices. Marianna Sadowska, a delegate to the conference and likewise chairman of the local branch of the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP], whose membership already includes 100 percent of the employees in education in the gmina, spoke about the difficulties in local schools, cadre problems (because soon seven teachers will receive the right to retire), about unfavorable housing conditions for teachers. The worst local situation to be found is the school in Tylkow, which is housed in three buildings (two of which are leased) on both sides of a busy street. Of the 12 teachers employed there 9 commute, *inter alia*, from Olsztyn and Szczytno. Marianna Sadowska campaigned for the urgent undertaking of additional school construction and space for a home for the teachers. The General Gmina School in Pasym, already conducting classes in two shifts, is becoming crowded in view of the forthcoming demographic explosion. Gymnasiums are also needed at this facility. Turning then to the matter of education, Jan Laskowski said that its needs in the province are great. Therefore, social support

becomes indispensable in developing the educational-training base, perhaps under the auspices of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and on the order of the once popular campaign, "One Thousand Schools to Commemorate 1000 Years of Existence." Franciszek Skierczynski also delved into union problems. He said that it is mostly workers who form professional organizations in the Pasym plants. However, the administration does not always bargain with union management. That is why it has become necessary to appoint a gmina agency to coordinate all unions.

Pasym has lost its urban identity, but, in spite of that, by nature it is reminiscent of a small town and has industrial plants. It also has typical city housing problems, although an attempt is being made to resolve them by concentrating chiefly on private construction. Presently 20 single-family homes are under construction. Seven are already occupied. Plans are under way to assign the next 70 plots of ground. The appointment of a private construction cooperative is contemplated at the Cooperative of Agricultural Circles and the Sand-Limestone Works. Little is taking place even in socialized construction. State Farming obtained an 18-family annex. The fish processing plant is launching the erection of four- and five-family homes. A 24-family communal construction complex is underway. But it is altogether too little.

The gmina conference would not be complete without discussing agricultural problems. They were outlined by director Kazimierz Oleszkiewicz. He was the bearer of rather bad news. The drought is not conducive to crops in the thin Pasym soil. Likewise, through the fault of farmers, a decrease in mineral fertilization exerted an influence on the per hectare decline in yield. The hog population declined somewhat, although it continues to surpass 1981 by 6.5 percent. On the other hand, optimistic changes are occurring in cattle breeding. It increases constantly and has already surpassed 1981 by 15.2 percent. Eugeniusz Zubrowski pursued the agricultural course in the discussion. He proposed that the farmer, at least during periods of pressing farm work, could repurchase a certain amount of pork-butcher's meat products in the shop in exchange for the porker reserved for the purchasing center; that the processing of vegetables and fruits be stimulated perhaps in Mew, which has shifted from canned goods to lollipops, because it now has nowhere to dispose of garden products. From the presentation by the director of the Pasym farm combine plant Mazury it was revealed that this enterprise had a 26 million profit and that it is experiencing problems in obtaining clothing and work shoes, especially felt boots. The young farmer, Andrzej Rychlik, praised the Agricultural Circles Cooperative and criticized farm service. He wanted to reclaim the wet meadows, ordered proper equipment, but waited in vain for that service to survey the level of ground water. He also challenged the morality of the director's decision to deny his brother land that had been promised to him. Jerzy Olzacki warned of the excessive supply of protein food in the gmina cooperative mixing bins and the related difficulties encountered by the cooperative in seeking bank credit. Sales conducted there are limited to 60 kg of compound for a delivered porker. It is not known if there are any prospective buyers for such contracts, or if distribution is bungled.

Jan Laskowski took the floor in the closing discussion. Addressing himself to gmina party organizational activity, he concentrated on two issues: considerable discrimination on the working level in the basic party organization--thus the need for uniting the weak with those stronger--and also on the question, omitted in the report, of the attitudes of advisor-members of the PZPR. For there is a group of inactive trustees, and private interviews should be conducted with them. Either they should fulfill their obligations better towards their constituency or resign. Next, he stated that the manner of looking at all remaining gmina problems does not differ from the opinion of the provincial echelon. Passing to a subject connected with the election-reporting campaign, he said, inter alia: "In summarizing the 2½-year term of office, it would not hurt a bit to reflect on the kind of times we were compelled to live through, on the kind of conditions many party members, organizations, committees, executive bodies and secretaries were compelled to function under. This was perhaps the most difficult term of office in party history. We are through with the trial by fire and water, endurance and also despair. Such trial makes people better, of course the faithful ones. And furthermore, the party is better, we have better members, aktivs, especially those in the employment plants, who during the lunch hour battle the rank and file--sometimes in a duel--for party rights. Those in the villages, especially where there are only two or several. The work of these comrades cannot be measured but it cannot be forgotten.

"During the term of office we went through various phases. The time prior to the congress was full of hope that all would go well. And the congress fulfilled the hopes of the party as well as those of the public. It compiled a program to deliver the country from the crisis. However, it did not satisfy the hopes of the enemies of socialism. Therefore, an attack was immediately initiated--hunger marches, escalation of strikes. It also touched you to some degree. It touched the province. Our attempts to reach an understanding were met with the stirring of tensions, with depriving the economy of breath. The most important task then was to forestall the disintegration of the party. Members were dropping out of it, some sectors were falling apart, but the party as a whole remained intact. The bitterness of the skeptics revealed itself, but on the other hand the faith of very many that our cause was just was growing. We have not for a moment relinquished responsibility for the destiny of the nation. The party had sufficient strength to assure fundamental conditions for existence, to save its biological existence. A battle waged regarding coal, heat in the homes, work for the factories and schools where the children can learn. And how we had to fight to provide the shops with a daily supply of bread.

"Finally, the second stage arrived--martial law, as a necessity. The basic objectives we then outlined, and which were reflected in the decision of the provincial committee executive board and later in the resolution of the provincial committee, called for such action that would create conditions for the termination of martial law in a short while. Strengthening the party was the main concern, because society functions efficiently if the party functions efficiently. We, as well as our adversaries, are

aware of this. We likewise recognized the need to find a formula for national understanding. Its formulation coincided with the appearance of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth [OKON], and afterwards the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], and attempts to reach the young people.

"We have consistently implemented reforms emanating from the Ninth Congress program that were not only economic, aimed at strengthening the socialist economy. Curbing the decline in production became the leading issue. It was exceedingly difficult, with an unregulated market and Western sanctions lightly holding us by the throat. Success came. A modest increase in real income has been detected this year. Another task of considerable size and significance also came up--the creation of the union movement anew. It is making a fair amount of progress in the province, but the situation is constantly distorted. There are reasons for satisfaction in Pasym, but there are none, for example, in nearby Szczytno. For that reason we must not sleep on the union issue nor remain in the wings. The party is dependent on a strong professional movement, but also ideologically associated with it.

"Finally, there followed the suspension and closing stages of martial law, and the current one under different circumstances. We have no reason to be ashamed of what we have accomplished to date. For example, more issues were resolved in Pasym than during the period of prosperity. A considerable amount of good work lies behind you. However, it should not be forgotten that the public still does not trust us completely. We have not yet made up our losses, especially in public consciousness. And consequently, if we take a step forward it means only one-quarter, whereas if we make one mistake, it would have avalanche proportions. It is necessary to seek a more effective formula to influence recognition. We must also remember that the enemy does not offer us any quarters, and takes advantage of every slip-up. Let us strive to resist him and return his blows effectively."

In conjunction with the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Jan Laskowski stated that the harmony of ideology, politics and economics, and the class nature of the party, must be expressed in practice everywhere, and not only in declarations. It is necessary to be guided by the class interest of working people in rendering various decisions associated with the allotment of dwellings. We cannot permit adversaries of socialism to live the best, while its defenders live poorly.

There is still a great deal of wickedness everywhere. And attempts to overcome it have failed because not all basic party organizations fulfill the role of the vanguard, the ally of efforts directed at reform. Sometimes they simply identify with the community and tolerate the unpleasant state of affairs in it. The party must be active everywhere, because if it relaxes in the field, it loses the battle. Next, the first secretary of the provincial committee of the Polish United Workers' Party discussed the chief problems of the country, proposals for changes in food prices and the deteriorating international situation.

Secret balloting during the conference sessions resulted in the election of the first secretary of the gmina committee, namely Roman Starczak, who previously performed this function, the 15-member gmina committee and the 5-member gmina audit commission, as well as two delegates to the provincial conference, namely Wladyslaw Brzostek and Roman Starczak. The new gmina committee, at its first session, appointed the gmina committee executive board. In addition to Roman Starczak, it is composed of the following: Wladyslaw Brzostek, Halina Kobus, Stanislaw Marek, Kazimierz Oleszkiewicz, Henryk Was and Stanislaw Obiedzinski. The gmina audit commission reelected Andrzej Gralczyk as chairman. The conference sessions ended with the singing of the 'Internationale.'

#### Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Pantak: "Election-Reporting Campaign in the Polish United Workers' Party' In the Camera's Lens"]

[Text] Targowisko, a village in the vicinity of Lubawa, of fair size, because it embraces 50 farms, crowded, economically energetic. Famous chiefly for its milk products. Practically everything that is required in a village is here: a school, fire department, a young people's club, a purchasing center for dairy products, a shop. Functioning energetically are: the village council, multimember organizations--Volunteer Fire Department [OSP] and Provincial Chief Headquarters [KGW]; circles--United Peasant Party [ZSL], Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP], and the Popular Sports and Athletics Clubs [LZS]. Against this backdrop the basic party organization is minuscule, hardly six people. A school teacher, two retirees, two young Lubawa factory employees and one rather elderly farmer.

One might ask what significance such a small unit of the PZPR can have. Even the comrades were astonished that someone from Olsztyn came to visit them, because, after all, so-called esteemed basic party organizations are nearby. An evening in the school auditorium, a warm stove, napkins on the benches, tea, apples from the school teacher's garden. Besides a journalist and a foursome from the basic party organization, there are comrades from Lubawa: Marian Knozowski, director of propaganda centers and Tadeusz Licznerski, representing the city-gmina committee. The present first secretary, Franciszka Deka, summarizes the modest achievements of the basic party organization. Training was conducted, therefore, according to the general program, dues were paid, meetings were held rather regularly. Sometimes someone from Lubawa was invited to attend them, but no one came. Then secretary Ireneusz Chojnacki, now deceased, was appropriately remembered. He was active. He was interested in basic party organization work. Recently, as if we have been forgotten, we feel isolated. And after all, we engaged in village competition in 1980, we are active. In the village council there are two basic party organization members in the Provincial Chief Headquarters, Volunteer Fire Department, and the Polish Socialist Youth Union, also. Together with others we

have provided an example of good work, says Comrade Jozef Szymanski (in the Polish United Workers' Party for 34 years); now this lack of appreciation hurts. Is it possible that socialization was unnecessary? In the village we also sometimes expose ourselves.

"Not so long ago there were eight comrades from Targowisko. Unfortunately, two young members of the Polish Socialist Youth Union returned their membership cards. We valued them, for example, Tadek Raszkowski, who is a very good young farmer, but the others? He slaved for the benefit of the village, but when it came to giving recognition he waited in vain for even a kind word on the part of the authorities. It was similar with Grzegorz Twardy. Perhaps they will yet return to us, but after all they should have been treated better then," frets Franciszka Deka effeminately.

"Oh! We have fallen on hard times," signs Jozef Szymanski. "No one displays any interest in anything; there is only neglect all around. I go, speak, I demand, if even in the Gmina Cooperative [GS], better treatment for the farmers, more efficient service, a supply of basic goods for our shop. And nothing. They promise improvements, but that's as far as it goes. Once upon a time it was different, the district committee dealt severely with backsliders, the district it seems was closer than the gmina is now."

"There must be respect for agriculture," Marian Wiejak maintains. "Not jealousy that the village sometimes has more money; it must have it, not for necessities but for production. I do not burn coal for myself, I will not consume all the hogs, I will not drink the milk. The hog which I could keep for myself I would also sell to the Gmina Cooperative for funds to buy pork butcher's products."

"And so, the first proposal is made: make it possible for farmers to conduct farm slaughter on the basis of profitability to both sides. But after all, we have been talking about this for two years, and nothing," argued Szymanski.

"I am afraid to attend meetings and mention what I think about this because later they will impose restrictions and they won't resolve anything in the gmina or the Gmina Cooperative," M. Wiejak stated bitterly. "But here the times are so unusual, progress is evident; however, without machines and parts. Without work clothes and shoes I cannot transport this progress onto the fields with horses, even though I am fond of plowing. With what shall I torment a son to farm? Drudgery?"

"During the initial portion of the meeting, complaints were lodged, as is recently fashionable. Only whoever complains more comes off best, but our complaints are in the interest of the people, the village. Injustice grieves us, because many know neither work nor hardship, but shield themselves with hardship and do not appreciate others, even though they live well," Szymanski states bitterly.

"But now a different hardship," says Franciszka Deka. "As if richer, on a higher plateau," I add. "Of course," Wiejak agrees, and Jozef Zielinski (the youngest in the basic party organization), who is chairman of the meeting, concurs. "After all, the village seems prosperous, the homes and farms are equipped modernly." Only M. Wiejak and two others farm with horses; the others have tractors, machines. And somehow the assembled slowly came to the conclusion that there is also a definite improvement, even if it is in the Agricultural Circles Cooperative. The director of the slaughterhouse is unusually reliable, and the people from the breakdown gang are professionals, all comment unanimously. Jozef Zielinski, of course, works in the Agricultural Circles Cooperative, and it is evident that these words of praise moved him. We must strive for ever greater personal responsibility in every post, the assembled conclude. The following proposals are also introduced: an open village meeting, an invitation to gmina officials to visit the village, cooperation with young people, increased agitation. "We must remind ourselves and others to insert a little heart and soul between the lines," F. Deka comments.

Together we have talked for almost 3 hours concerning local hardships, the fate of the country, agriculture. It appears that even such a small basic party organization can be an unusually important party unit, if that which the comrades say is heeded and treated seriously. Because even in such a small organization all community problems are focused on, just as in the lens of the camera.

#### No Matters Are Indifferent for Party

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by tes: "Election-Reporting Campaign of the PZPR; There Are No Issues of Indifference to the Party"]

[Text] The 105-member Kopernik Torun gingerbread and sugar products factory party organization has a good reputation in the opinion of the city committee of the PZPR. It performs its legal duties properly, its executive board participates in the undertaking of the more important decisions concerning the plant, introducing its own proposals and concepts; it pursued reform problems, did its share in preparing the austerity program, whose implementation will raise 1.2 million zlotys for the factory. It also completed the assignments accepted at last year's election-reporting conference, reactivating party groups--in production, administration and in auxiliary work, as well as in the Polish Socialist Youth Union organization which consists of 50 members, principally from among students of the school attached to the plant. However, the outstanding service of the basic party organization is its influence in shaping the atmosphere within the plant. Kopernik ranks among the few enterprises that peacefully survived the recent years, thanks to a stabilized work force that does not experience any cadre problems, and consequently maintains good production results.

As one of the participants in the election-reporting meeting which took place there recently stated, work rather than discussion was always the stronger side of this organization; thus certainly this meeting also did not provide a broader exchange of opinions. And that is unfortunate, because the report of the executive board, as well as information on the subject of plant management compiled by the director, advanced facts and material deserving amplification. For example, there was a lack of party attention to such an essential issue as the necessity to improve unsettled relations at Kopernik between increased wages and productivity; no effort was made to investigate the cause of meager party work among the foremen. Too little attention is also devoted to the problem of the influx of young people into the party, although in the case of Kopernik it has certain limitations: the basic party organization is growing old, the average members' age is over 45 years, and the rather inactive retirees, although they are attached to the organization, represent an important group within it. There is a lack of a new aktiv, which could be detected even at the meeting when five comrades who were recommended to serve on the executive board declined to run for office because they were burdened with other functions and would now like to rest after a period of prolonged activity.

In principle only one conferee, Benedykt Sawicki, very succinctly tried to make public particulars on the weak interest displayed by young people in party and social work in the plant. According to him, the chief cause lies in the shortcomings of the system of socioprofessional adaptation. Young people remain under solicitous care while they are students, whereas as soon as they move into the circle of independent workers this care virtually comes to a halt. And it also happens that the qualifications they obtained in school are not properly utilized, and in this situation there follows a relaxation in the ties of the youngest members of the work force with the factory, and consequently a reluctance toward more active participation in its life. Also the older work force does not always provide the young with a good example by disregarding the demands of professional and party discipline.

One should conclude that during its next term of office the party organization at Kopernik will devote more attention to the problem of rejuvenating its ranks, a decisive one for its continued existence, in compliance after all with decisions incorporated in the resolution adopted at the meeting.

Comrade Teresa Grubeca became first secretary of the basic party organization. She received a commendatory letter from the executive board of the PZPR city committee for the work and posture demonstrated in the passing term of office, delivered during the meeting by Jozef Szymanski, first secretary of the city committee. Similar letters--with an entry into party records--were directed to 150 PZPR activists in Torun.

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At the beginning of the eighth election-reporting conference in the Pomorze Machinery Construction Factories Zremb-Makrum in Bydgoszcz, Ryszard Bandoszek, provincial committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR city committee, who participated in the deliberations, delivered candidate identity cards to Comrade Zbigniew Gasiorowski and Comrade Stanislaw Domaradzki.

In the official report--delivered by the present first secretary of the plant committee, Leszek Karwasz--much space was devoted to an analysis of the causes leading to a weakening in the role and the size of the plant's organization in the recent difficult and complicated 2½-year term of office. Strengthening the process of restoring party authority was regarded as one of the most important assignments for the new political officials.

The present sociopolitical state of affairs, as well as the economic results of enterprise (the annual export assignments have already been completed) have been assessed by the delegates as generally positive, which does not indicate that they did not detect a series of weak sectors in party activities, as for example the work of party groups, deterioration of activity and poor attendance at some meetings, the limited number of candidates admitted, a lack of consistent surveys of party members' attitudes. They expressed themselves critically regarding some solutions to economic reform, and especially frequent changes in its legal structure.

Marian Kluth was elected first secretary of the PZPR plant committee.

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Following the election meeting which took place on 9 November, there is also a Bydgoszcz Foton Photochemical Works party organization. It comprises 106 members and one candidate.

The discussion at the meeting was not too heated, hardly five comrades took the floor. However, they raised basic issues. The conferees' statements, as well as the report of the retiring executive board, included comments on the subject of the state of affairs in the basic party organization itself. Their party organization--according to Foton's comrades--must still strengthen itself internally. The process of ideological and political synonymy of its ranks should be intensified.

The conferees raised some specific issues associated with the initiation of economic reform in the plant, including those associated with negative phenomena--inter alia, inadequate work discipline. There was also discussion on reform in general, emphasizing that the principle requiring a plant to make a profit in order to meet its expenses, as well as its guarantees of service, should be observed consistently and by everyone in the country, keeping in mind also the social objective of production. This is so because the situation is such that one plant, applying considerable

effort, implements the above mentioned principles while another treats them less rigorously, and in effect even receives assistance as well as some type of reduced tariff rates. The plant's production prospects also merited the election meeting's attention.

Jerzy Langowski again became first secretary of the newly elected executive board of the basic party organization.

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During the village meeting of the basic party organization in the vicinity of Bogopomoz, in the gmina of Bobrowniki (Wloclawek Province), many comrades stressed, inter alia, the meaningful activities of party members in social organizations. An opinion on the subject of the guiding role of the party depends on their engagement in and actual interest in people's matters.

During the meeting a critical approach was afforded the issue of the output and the various classifications of milk. Once again the matter of constructing a road to Bobrowniki was revived. In spite of the fact that for almost 10 years the farmers have been petitioning for the laying of a hard surface, a solution to the problem is waited for in vain and the village is even willing to contribute aid in the form of labor and equipment. As a result of the election, the function of first secretary was conferred upon Ignacy Domagalski.

Problems dealing with internal discipline were one of the dominant trends in discussion during the meeting of branch party organization No 3 in the Kujawy paint and lacquer plant. It is composed of 45 members employed in the packaging department, mechanical and electrical workshops. Recently, interviews were conducted with several party members who have not been observing rules and regulations. Inasmuch as those measures failed to produce any results, the basic party organization adopted a decision to suspend four of its members.

In order to fortify the role of executive officials, it was demanded that surveys be conducted more frequently, as well as a systematic accounting by the executive board members of tasks assumed. Likewise, the question of ideological training was not omitted. It was discussed in the context of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

In another round of discussion, there was a return to the problem of inadequate supplies for the Wloclawek business establishments. Complaints were directed at poor distribution and the organization of trade.

Comrade Marek Wesolowski was reelected first secretary of the basic party organization, but new comrades belong to the executive board which he will direct.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Lodz Campaign Progress

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by (K.P.): "Course of Reports-Elections Campaign; Sociopolitical Situation in Lodz Higher Institutes of Learning"]

[Text] Deliberating yesterday, the secretariat of the Lodz PZPR committee dealt with the course thus far of the reports-elections campaign in the provincial party organization.

During this meeting, which was attended by Central Committee Politburo member and First Secretary of the PZPR KL [Lodz Committee] Tadeusz Czechowicz, the participants became acquainted with information presented to the KL secretariat through the political and organizational section of the Lodz party organization. This illustrates how essential for the report-elections campaign taking place in the party are questions like a very analytical attitude toward the most essential public and socio-economic problems which pervade individual environments, affecting the party organizations in them.

In this heated debate a great deal of attention was given to the matter of improving party work methods, not only within the organization, but also among the work forces and throughout society.

The PZPR KL secretariat asserted that the reports-elections campaign, as well as the preliminary work for the provincial conference, was progressing properly, in conformity with statutory requirements and according to the party timetable. Rich material garnered during this party debate in the form of proposals voiced in discussions at meeting of OOP [branch party organization], POP [basic party organization] and KZ [plant committee], is being used to program further party organizational work, and to improve the activity of many areas of our life, factories and institutions.

The PZPR KL secretariat also became apprised of the sociopolitical situation in the Lodz institutes of higher learning.

Party Consists of Authority, Members

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by (ws): "The Party Is Not Only Its Authority, But Also the Members of Organizations"]

[Text] "We are aware that we are judged by the community, not only by intentions, but primarily by our relationship to service obligations and by the economic effects produced." We have deliberately extracted this fragment from the reports-elections campaign of the party factory organization of the PZL-Warsaw II Transportation Equipment Plant in Grochow. Its terseness and realism characterize the discussions both in the basic links and during the recapitulation campaign of the conference on Friday, 26 November.

Let us say a few words about the factory. The old "Borkowski Brothers" (chandeliers, irons and so forth) has for years been a factory on which the aircraft industry "depends." Without a constantly higher class of on-board apparatus, airplanes and helicopters would not take off. Among other things, they have produced equipment for agricultural aviation apparatus, protective equipment for pilots, and devices for automatic course maintenance of maritime vessels.

There are no problems with a market for their products, nor with the present and future of the factory. The real focus of interest of its party organization is the most effective operation of the factory, and thus of the people who here, too, are too few for the work.

In the discussion Stefan Kujawa from OOP-4 said that in 1984 the path of economic arrangement will be even more difficult and complex than at present. For this reason more energetic activity will be demanded of the factory administration and leadership, along with heavy support from the sociopolitical elements. Resolutions from above and our own decisions must be transmitted to the working communities, understood there and above all respected. Molding joint responsibility for factory work rests on the party.

"Can we be satisfied with our achievements?" asked Kazimierz Smigelski from OOP-5. "As members of the party we must try harder to see that the factory has higher profits and lower losses. This affects wages. Even if this were not bad, we must be dissatisfied, for example, that losses because of faulty production can exceed the work of 31 people producing the same trash for 10 months. Let us add material costs to this. Does it matter that this is only a small percentage of the total value of sales, if it is? The rules of the game of economics will be very severe. If we do not meet them, the work force will have its greatest claims against us, that is, against the party...."

"We are speaking about economy, administration and other matters," said Janusz Kaczorowski. "And also about our accounting for party obligations, because the mere possession of a membership card is not everything. The party is not only the authorities, but the members. We do our work 'at the bottom.' Are we trained and informed well enough? Although there is some improvement, I think that the propaganda even in the factory is not fulfilling the anticipated hopes."

A great deal of the discussion was devoted to methods of convincing people. The resolution document contains concrete proposals for connecting the questions of ideology, policy and economy. There is also an essential part referring to rejuvenation of the factory party organization and the revival of youth organizations which are practically nonexistent.

New party officers were elected during the conference. The first KZ [plant committee] secretary is again Jerzy Sobis.

On the 28 November a reports-elections conference of the PZPR factory organization in the Roza Luksemburg Electric Light Bulb Plant was held. Participating in the conference was Central Committee Politburo member and First Secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee Marian Wozniak, who was appointed delegate to the factory by the mother organization, POP No 4 in this factory.

The reports-elections campaign of the PZPR plant party organization in the Local Construction Combine Warsaw-East was held on the 28 November. Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, participated in the discussions of his mother organization.

#### Campaign Recommendations, Realistic Initiatives

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 29 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (reb): "Rzeszow Proposals, Realistic Initiatives; After POP Meetings the Factory and Gmina Conferences Debate"]

[Text] The current reports-elections campaign in the party has entered its second important phase. In principle it has ended on the basic level. Of 5,332 OOP's and POP's existing in the area of Krosno, Przemysl, Rzeszow and Tarnobrzeg, reports-elections meetings took place in over 5,200 organizations. The remaining POP's will be held in the first half of this week.

The discussion accompanying the meetings is concentrated on the most important problems for the given communities. In the plants they talk about, among other things, matters conditioning the further development of production, particularly including the market, questions of economic reform, and social and living problems of the work forces, while among other things, in the country, they talk about the possibilities of

increasing animal husbandry, the shortcomings in the work of institutions serving agriculture, difficulties in the area of land reclamation, water supply in the country, and needs in the area of the cultural and educational base and road construction. It is worth stressing that hopes are for many of these tasks to be achieved by the public efforts of the inhabitants.

During the meetings already held, a number of recommendations have been made aimed at complete administration of existing reserves for the better use of the current production and labor potential.

Many initiatives of a public nature are also appearing in this lively party debate. We shall write about them in more detailed reports from meetings and conferences. Worthy of mention here is the deserving attitude of acceptance of comrades from the Chemical Plants in Nowa Sarzyna. A few weeks ago the Nuclear Research Institute in Swierek turned to the "Sarzyna" administration with a request for the sale of 800 kg of hard-to-get oil necessary to construct therapeutic accelerators (apparatus to treat cancer--in one 24-hour period 170 interventions can be made with one such device). The order was accepted. At the OOP meeting in the epoxide department the comrades proposed that this oil be shipped free to the institute in Swierek, and that its value be worked off in public activity.

As we have already mentioned, reports-elections conferences have already been held in many plants and gminas, after the meetings in the OOP's and POP's. Here are the names of comrades to whom the function of first secretary of the basic level organizations has been entrusted in recent days.

#### Krosno

Janusz Kowal has become first secretary of the PZPR KG [gmina committee] in Lutowiskie. Chosen as first secretaries KZ's [plant committee] were Jan Malek in the Provincial Office in Krosno, Tadeusz Dziadak in Zagor, Adam Swieczynski in the Jasiel PPNiG, Zbigniew Makowski in the Pektowin Fruit-Vegetable Processing Plants, Stanislaw Pigalski in the Krosno Petroleum and Gas Extraction Plants, and Wladyslaw Zajdel in the WZSR Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperative.

#### Przemysl

The first gmina conferences were held in Przemysl Province. Becoming first secretaries of PZPR KG's were: Stanislaw Pigan in Adamowiec, Tadeusz Faszczowy in Wielkie Ochy, Wieslaw Jaroch in Orly, Jozef Pyrczak in Pawloslow, Bronislaw Mazuryk in Krasiczyn, Edward Wyczarski in Gaci, Wladyslaw Galej in Jawornik Polski, Kazimierz Opalinski in Chlopicy and Antoni Organ in Pruchnik. Elected as first secretaries of plant organizations were Michal Piorkowski in Pollenie-Astrze in Przemysl, Jozef Siedlarz in Sanwil, and Janusz Grzejek in Fanninie.

### Rzeszow

The gmina conferences held last Saturday and Sunday entrusted the function of PZPR KG secretary to Zenon Borowski in Niebyliec, Antoni Dzierzak in Chmielnik, Jan Kaplica in Hyzne and Jan Sznajder in Luben. Elected KZ first secretaries were: Ryszard Walawender in LFS [Lancut Bolt and Nut Factory], Stanislaw Czyrny in the Fruit-Vegetable Processing Plants in Rzeszow, Kazimierz Wojtowicz in the Provincial Office, Jozef Boguta in the Construction Combine, Ryszard Kotowicz in Zelmerze and Jan Kuca in the Rakszaw Wool Industry Plants.

### Tarnobrzeg

The eighth successive gmina conference was held on Sunday. As KG first secretaries were chosen: Czeslaw Kipinski in Annopol, Stanislaw Pawelce in Gadzisow, Barbara Zarodzinska in Koprzywnica, Czeslaw Kasza in Lipnik, Zygmunt Ostrowski in Loniew, Jan Kondrat in Samboriec and Marian Ciupak in Trzydnik. The function of KMG [city-gmina committee] first secretary in Cmielow was given to Jerzy Sokol. Kazimierz Wojak became the first secretary in Stalowa Wola in the local ZOZ [Health Care Team]. Henryk Puk became the PKS [State Motor Transport] branch first secretary, and Wieslaw Nowak became the first secretary of the Stalowa Wola Spolem.

### Progress of Normalization in Every Community

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 29 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Director Julian Kempa of the Regional Center of Party Work in Sroda Wielkopolska by Kazimierz Marchinkowski: "The Progress of Normalization in Every Community"]

[Text] As early as the beginning of the fourth week of November the first PZPR reports-elections phase was approaching its end in the Sroda region of the party activity (ROPP). All of the basic organizations summed up their work during the past term, and their gmina organization conferences were held. On this occasion we interviewed the director of the Regional Center of Party Work [ROPP] in Sroda Wielkopolska, Julian Kempa.

[Question] What judgments and proposals can be made at this moment in the reports-elections campaign?

[Answer] Generally in our organizations and echelons we have treated the reports-elections campaign as one of the most important criteria in carrying out the resolutions and statute adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress. The congress was referred to in almost every reports account, the discussions during the plant and gmina conferences were concentrated on an honest evaluation of the realization of its resolutions, and its resolutions were referred to in adopting new tasks. In general it was judged that the post-congress period is characterized by perceptible progress in every gmina and every community in the process of normalization of life. This does not mean that there is nothing more left to do.

[Question] What was discussed most often during the discussions at the meetings and conferences?

[Answer] Care about the proper realization of the leading role of the party appeared dominant in the many currents of the discussions which lasted for hours. Our comrades stated that in many basic organizations there were beneficial changes in attending to ideological and political problems. They put the emphasis on courageous work in mounting an offensive, particularly for consistent harmony between words and deeds to help recover respect and public confidence in party trust and authority.

[Question] The campaign began immediately after the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Did this have any effect in enlivening the ideological discussions?

[Answer] They stressed in a critical way that the organizational circles had devoted too little attention so far to ideological missions. They demanded the development of training and educational activities for all members of the party, including the aktiv. Attention was directed toward the need to find new and more effective (often meaning simply more interesting) forms of training and increased discipline in realizing them.

[Question] It is difficult to assume that they omitted economic matters...

[Answer] They were faced honestly and critically. The delegates who spoke at the conference stated party members observe some inconsistent economic behavior with anxiety. The Sroda region has a significant position in agriculture. This refers both to very well-managed PGR [state farms] combines in Jaroslaw, Lekna and Chocicza, as well as to individual farmers. Nevertheless, the speakers pointed out many possibilities for increasing agricultural production which are not yet utilized. In a situation where the majority of the people of the region live in the country, a reduction in the difficulties of living outside of town, the development of local education, self-government, and intensification of party work are extremely important. The party work still has weaknesses.

[Question] What in particular?

[Answer] They can be assigned to two statements: first, that we are still too involved in certain kinds of activity and are looking for new and more effective forms with too little efficiency and obstinacy, and, secondly, that we must remember that the causes of the disinterest among some party members are varied and sometimes complex. Therefore, these must be recognized with discernment and removed as rapidly as possible. I noted these opinions among the delegates, among others, at the gmina conferences in Zaniemysl and Nowe Miasto.

[Question] Finally, perhaps you would give us a few words on the subject of the course of elections for new authorities. You recall the atmosphere concurrent with the elections in the previous campaign...

[Answer] The elections are proceeding in a prudent way, without strain and special emotion. Comrades who have proven themselves in the previous term have been reelected to power. They have shown their character in many difficult tests. It can be said that today we know better who will obey his mandate and work to produce good results. Let me add that all of the first secretaries of the gmina committees in the area were re-elected: Andrzej Bidzinski in Dominow (this was the first gmina conference in the province), Pawel Ozadowicz in Kleszczew, Zdzislaw Matuszak in Krzykosy, Kazimierz Kujawiak in Zaniemysl and Ryszard Jankowski in Nowe Miasto.

[Question] Is this another favorable premise for improvement in the work of the Sroda ROPP?

[Answer] It certainly is.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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## ROMANIA

### CRITICISM OF PRACTICAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 10 Nov 83 pp 5-7

[Article by Iosif Tripsa]

[Text] The problems of education and instruction is involved in many decisions and documents of our party, in the speeches of Nicolae Ceausescu, because a multilaterally developed socialist society and communism are built with people who, by assimilating the most advanced science, acquire new creative values, assure greater and greater efficiency and superior quality in the activity in all fields; moreover, instruction is a paramount factor of education, culture and civilization. That is why the personalities of the Romanian school appreciate as inestimably valuable and historically outstanding the address of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu at the work conference on problems of organizational and political-educational work in Mangalia, last August, a document of a high theoretical and practical value, that outlines basic guidelines for the revolutionary and patriotic education, at a high scientific level and with a broad cultural horizon, of all the working people, and specifically, of the young generation.

#### Technological Competence, Corollary of Efficiency

Many surveys conducted by the party leadership, by Nicolae Ceausescu, showed that the results obtained in various economic branches greatly hinge on the quality of the training of the work force. The wisest possible utilization of the raw material, energy and work time, the level of the quality and competitiveness of products on the foreign market are decisively influenced by the vocational training of the work force. The lyceum, together with the technical school are the major sources of the work force, now ensuring more than 80% of the skilled workers needed by the economy, and the input, in this area, of educational institutions will in the ensuing years grow up to 100%. Consequently, there is the need for taking measures to ensure the highest possible vocational training of would-be graduates of stages I and II of lyceums and technical schools that are assigned jobs in the production field. Precisely therefore, beginning in this academic year, in lyceums and technical schools, a set of measures is applied with the focus on further improving the training of students in the trade of their choice. The upgrading of technological training plays an important role in this set of measures.

As is known, scientific and technological advances today generate tremendous and profound changes in the technology of each economic branch, triggering genuine technological revolutions in every field and trade. The experts in scientology with good reason state that technology is the most dynamic field of productive forces. Hence, in training the work force, technological instruction must be more dynamic than the other educational modalities. Proceeding from such considerations, that have been economically verified in the most advanced countries, it has been concluded that there is the need to ensure a technological training of lyceum and technical students in close correlation with technological advances in each branch, and this signifies -- first of all -- a close correlation with the actual development of the technological process in the enterprises where the prospective graduates will be employed.

Hence, the upgrading of technological training must proceed along the line of tying it directly to practical education and in light of the previsible development, in the next decades, of the technological processes applied in different economic branches. In other words, two major courses of action are outlined. There is the need for upgrading technological training and, at the same time, strengthening scientific training in the area of basic sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology), that ensure the foundations for the future changes which will occur in the realm of trades.

A first measure applied in training the work force, beginning in the 1983/1984 academic year, involves the close tie between technological education and practical education, with the clearly set aim of providing proper correlation between the contents of the disciplines specific to the trade and the contents of practical work -- in lyceums the technological disciplines will be taught simultaneously with the unfolding of practical work in production. It is a matter not of simply changing the schedule but of switching to a different educational outlook, to different methods, that are designed to replace the conventional "imparting" of knowledge. Consequently, all the engineer teachers must apply new methods for the efficient training of future graduates. Much of the technological knowledge will be studied on the very jobs of the students, in enterprises, so that they can receive explanations on the scientific, physicochemical basis of technological processes, the upgrading of current technologies in terms of increasing labor productivity, the ways to wiser using raw materials and energy, to improving the qualitative standards of production, to cutting cost, and thus achieve an organic integration of education with research and production.

But also the other classes of training, that cannot be conducted at the future work places of students and unfold in training shops, laboratories or classrooms, must be closely tied to the vocational training of students. Moreover, it is mandatory for all teachers, including those who teach basic disciplines, to determine the formative elements in the instructional program for each discipline, for each student class, and to ensure their assimilation in accordance with the minimal standards required for promotion, formulated by the Ministry of Education and Instruction in 1982. These standards assure a minimum of competence, that is strictly required for efficient integration in production of the graduates of stages I and II of lyceum.

It must be emphasized that instructional programs and textbooks contain maximum knowledge, equivalent to a 10 rating. Facts in schools -- in this country, like in other countries -- indicate, however, that in lyceums there are students who

have various levels of scientific or technological training and that, subsequently, after graduation, in practical, production work, the marks obtained at the lyceum are confirmed partly only. That is why the need has arisen for these minimal requirements for knowledge that permit the quantification of the level of knowledge, aptitudes and skills on whose basis the students can be promoted. By nationally using the minimal requirements of knowledge for promotion of the primary and gymnasial cycles and stages I and II of lyceum, an equivalency is achieved nationally in terms of marks obtained by students in the various schools in various localities and, also, all graduates are assured at least the minimal competence standards required for the proper utilization of the modern technical means with which the various production spots are provided.

#### Creative, Prospective Education

By conducting a sustained activity of theoretical and practical education of each student, by paying increased attention to the students who have difficulties in assimilating knowledge, vocational aptitudes and behaviors, our secondary education is today characterized by a high scientific and technical standard. The modern instructional methods which it uses -- specifically the active-participatory ones -- are designed to year by year enhance the secondary level of training of all the students and, also, the level of the best students. The application of these methods generates the change, to a great extent, in the very mode of operation of the lyceums, with more and more classes unfolding in school shops, in laboratories, in specialized offices, in plants, on construction sites, and the like. Any visitor today to a lyceum is surprised at the size of the changes that have occurred in its activity as a result of the application of the new educational techniques and the excellent provision of most offices, laboratories and workshops with educational equipment.

Proceeding from the good results obtained it is fully possible and necessary to even more upgrade the level of training of the youth both theoretically and practically. On the start of this academic year, in his speech at the big people's rally in Cluj-Napoca, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need for improving the training of students in the area of basic sciences -- mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology -- that ensure the basis of future changes in the various economic branches and also a broad cultural-scientific horizon, a multilateral development of human individuality.

The major method for upgrading the training of students in these areas involves accustoming them to fully use the knowledge accumulated for resolving matters that are most specific and tied to their future trades. To this end, the teachers themselves must, as part of their activity of continuously improving their professional training, be more closely concerned with acquainting themselves with the future work places of their students, to tackle in depth the problems of the work tasks that can be adequately resolved by an approach from the standpoints of the basic disciplines which they teach.

Closer integration of teaching of basic knowledge with the future trade of current students will enhance the formative role of basic disciplines and will facilitate the graduates' understanding of the trends of technological development in the area of their practical work, and also their adaptation to the new equipment, technologies and products being turned out. Moreover, in this way there is a strengthening of the role of the lyceum in the training of some young people who would continue

to study all their life, not only for the sake of new knowledge but -- especially -- for using this new knowledge to upgrade their production activity.

In other words, the basic task of all teachers involves enhancing the creative potentials of students by ensuring their using, at a higher level of efficiency, the knowledge accumulated. The essential switch is thus effected from the students' reproducing texts from textbooks or the teachers' explanations to the students' learning how to focus on the modalities of concrete and creative utilization of the knowledge acquired in school, on seeking ways to apply this knowledge in the trade of their choice. These are basic requirements for the promotion of human individuality to the parameters necessitated by the scientific-technical revolution that is constantly accelerating its rate.

#### Criterion of Practical Production Work

In students' preparation for life and work, an important role is assigned to practical education, which takes one-third of schooling time in lyceums and more than two-thirds in trade schools. On the actual efficiency of practical education depend the professional competence acquired by the prospective graduates and their education in the revolutionary, patriotic spirit of industrious work to the benefit of the country, of all the people.

In most lyceums greater and greater successes have been every year obtained in ensuring the smooth unfolding of practical production work of students, a proof of this being the longer and longer list of products achieved by them, many characterized by high standards in step with the production of the enterprises for which the work force is being trained. Moreover, there has been a constant rise in the value of the output obtained by trainees, this year reaching 1.2 billion lei, a fact which proves the lyceums and trade schools' productive capacity, of really economic importance.

Furthermore, it is unanimously acknowledged that best assimilation of a trade is ensured precisely by practicing it; and the assimilation of the trade by trainees is a paramount objective of school activity. The entire activity in lyceums and trade schools will be subordinated to this objective. Factors in upgrading this activity include the regulations adopted in recent years, which point out the incorporation in the uniform national plan of some indicators for school production, within the framework of the production plan of each ministry and each enterprise individually. By this regulation also, there is a strengthening in the integration of education with production. On the same line are the provisions of the 1982 Decree No 220 of the Council of State on the transfer of the technical and foremen schools and school-workshops of industrial lyceums to the makeup of economic units. In this way there has been an increased role of economic units in ensuring the proper technological and practical education of the future work force.

Considering that the responsibility for the technological and practical education of students now rests with both lyceums and economic units, under joint orders of the Ministry of Education and Instruction and of the proper ministries that have industrial lyceums, special commissions have been set up in each of these school units, which focus on smooth organization and unfolding of technical and practical education by ensuring individual work places for each student in school workshops and in enterprises; providing the school production plan with orders in compliance

with the needs of vocational training; ensuring the raw materials and supplies, providing machines and tools, and so forth. These commissions include school principals and teachers and technical managers, engineers and foremen from the production field.

For the smooth unfolding of technological and practical education, the lyceums worked out genuine projects for organization of the activity of each individual grade, for the entire 1983/1984 academic year, so that it may ensure the proper implementation of all the goals specified in school programs and at the same time make best use of the production facilities in school workshops.

One may assess that efficient measures were taken for the unfolding of the students' vocational training under better conditions than those in the past. Consistent application of the measures taken depends on the responsibility displayed by specialized teachers and instructor foremen in their work, on their understanding the need for improving their own activity so as to accurately achieve the objective pursued by the measures outlined. In the first place, there is the need for strengthening the cooperation among engineer teachers and instructor foremen who work in the same grade, for coordination of technological education with practical education of students, so that students may assimilate technological knowledge and correct execution of all operations specified by the technology involved. In the second place, it is necessary for the engineer teachers to assimilate and apply educational methods that are specific to technological education, for all the formative elements in the discipline involved, with the conventional methods being used only for studying the informative elements in the program. In the third place, there is the need for a closer contact of engineer teachers with production, with the work places of the prospective graduates.

True, we must admit that some engineer teachers have divorced themselves from the problems of production, do not keep pace with the rapid modernization of equipment, technologies and products which occurred and continues to occur in Romanian economy. But to achieve proper technological education there is the need for perfect estimation of production for which the work force is being trained. In this light it becomes even more necessary today to apply the legal provisions on upgrading the professional training, which requires engineer teachers to periodically return to production, from which they are not allowed to detach themselves in any way. I believe that it would be relevant to examine and adopt some better modalities for ensuring the best possible link of teacher engineers in lyceums with industrial production.

Of course, the economic units are important factors in training the work force. The best results in this area have been obtained in the cases when the managerial bodies of economic enterprises have regarded the lyceum as one of the plant's sections, paying the necessary attention to it but also requiring firm completion of the production tasks allotted. The new regulations, including the ones on coopting the technical manager or the senior engineer of the enterprise to the leading collective of the lyceum, are designed to reinforce the responsibility of economic units for the proper training of the work force. As a matter of fact, one may state that the proper training of the work force is the most valuable investment of the economic unit, for the quantitative and qualitative development of its production.

## Correlation With Actual Work Force Needs

For the purpose of ensuring better and better conditions for the vocational training of the young generation, the ministries involved and the county people's councils are required to very closely analyze the network and structure of lyceums under their subordination, considering that the proportion of industrial and agroindustrial lyceums is lower than the proportion of students who receive training in industrial and agroindustrial specialities -- the last-mentioned ones being above 90% as specified by the Law on education and instruction. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the modalities for converting some lyceums into industrial lyceums and subordinating them to enterprises for which they train the work force.

In the second place, noticeable is an exaggerated "mosaic" structure, with many specialities, in some lyceums, a fact that creates difficulties in the proper vocational training of students. There is the need for limitation -- as far as possible -- to lyceum structures with one or two specialities, which permit the more rapid provision of the material base required for technological and practical education.

In the third place, there is an unjustified proliferation, in some schools, of the specialities of electrical engineering, mechanics and the like, while disregarding the actual needs for work force of economic units in various localities and ignoring of the material base of the schools involved, that does not permit, in all cases, a competent training of students. Moreover, the necessary attention is not paid to meeting the needs for work force in the priority branches of the economy, such as the mining, petroleum, metallurgical and other industries. There is the need, on the one hand, for more careful planning of schooling figures for the various specialities of student training and, on the other hand, for a more competent and convincing activity of schooling and vocational orientation, in order to prompt students -- and especially their parents -- to select a trade in compliance with the actual needs of the national economy.

In this country, school training proceeds according to the profoundly democratic provisions of the Constitution and of the country's laws, that ensure the right and access to education of all young people, requiring them to have at least 10 years of schooling, with the last two constituting the first stage of lyceum, which also ensures to them the skill in a trade that is useful to them and to society. Consequently, in planning the schooling figures one proceeds from the need to include in the first stage of lyceum, just as in the prior cycles of education, the whole generation of young people. From this point of view, one cannot understand the erroneous mental attitude of some workers in the economy who wish to reduce, for various reasons, the schooling figures in the lyceums with whose organization they are concerned or to get rid of some lyceums. Such tendencies or wishes cannot be met because all the parties that are responsible for the organization of lyceums must help to ensure conditions for including in schools, in stage I, the entire generation of young people.

As for stage II of lyceum, one may note the inclusion, every year, of a growing number of youngsters, especially in evening classes, by utilization of the ablest teachers and ensuring of access to all lyceum laboratories and offices. But there must be an improvement in the methods by which young workers in production can be persuaded to attend evening classes of stage II of lyceum, this being the main

avenue to completing the task set by the 12th Party Congress of including on an overall scale, in the future, all young people in the lyceum stage II also.

The development and upgrading of trade schools is of great importance for ensuring the proper vocational training of the work force. The credit lies with the party leadership, with Nicolae Ceausescu personally, for having combated the wrong orientation of restricting trade schools. The measures adopted proved to be efficient, by including in trade schools, this year, more than 114,000 young people, versus only 72,339 young people in 1982. The development and upgrading of trade schools are the concerns of economic units, ministries and bodies of synthesis, materializing in better conditions for technological and practical education, conducted didactically upon methods adopted, as from this academic year, in lyceums as well.

We strongly believe that the new regulations will ensure a better technological and practical education of all students in lyceums and trade schools, hence a better training of the work force and, thereby, a greater increase in the national wealth and well-being of the people.

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## ROMANIA

### STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, UNITY IN TRANSYLVANIA RECALLED

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[Article by Dr. Mircea Musat]

[Text] The history of Romanians is the history of a stable people, that have been always and uninterruptedly residing in the Carpathic-Danubian-Pontic area. Unified by the place of birth -- Dacia's hearth -- by the language which they spoke, having the same customs and mental attitudes, the same culture, the same feelings, the Romanian people had, as far back as the period of their ethnogenesis, to cope with countless adversities of the time. However, the vicissitudes, the sufferings did not bring them to their knees, but, on the contrary, steeled them, enhanced their love for their country, reinforced their resolve not to yield in face of difficulties, not to back away from any sacrifice to defend the ancestral soil.

#### Lawful Inheritors of Ancestral Dacian Hearth

For centuries the Romanians withstood the successive waves of migratory populations and also the policy of conquest and annexation by big states and empires that fought for dominance in this area. Pointing out the origin, continuity and unity of the Romanian people in the ancestral home, party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, in his address to the June 1982 enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP, indicated: "We may state, based on historical facts, that our people developed during the course of milleniums in the Carpathic-Danubian area, that each meter of land and each rock are spattered with the sweat and blood of our forefathers. During the most difficult days, our forerunners did not leave the land where they were born, but, merging with it, with the mountains and plains, with the rivers and glorious forests, remained unflinchingly on this soil, defending their identity, their right to freedom."

The Romanians put up keen resistance against the Magyar tribes who, beginning in the 10th century, after their settling in the Pannonian Plain, began to infiltrate Transylvania and managed, at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, to take over control on some parts of this Romanian territory. In spite of the new political rule, the Transylvanian Romanians preserved their old organization in "tari" [regions], resisting and perpetuating their material and spiritual culture. The documents of those days, even of Hungarian kings of that period, mention "terra blacorum" -- the land of Romanians. The political influence and pressures exerted by the feudal Hungarian state, during the first centuries of

the second millenium, failed to alter the economic structure and the tradition of statal organization, characteristic of Romanians throughout the territory of former Dacia. The accentuation of the autonomy of the voivodate of Transylvania and its orientation toward Wallachia and Moldova are naturally explained by the fact that all the three countries were inhabited by a Romanian ethnic mass, whose homogeneity could not be broken either by conquests or by colonization with other populations.

The continuity of the Romanian states, their uninterrupted existence in a Europe in which, because of the developments of forces, many states interrupted their existence or were totally dissolved, constituted a pregnant reality on the south-east European map, specifically after the ascent of the Ottoman Empire, that turned states of Bulgarians, Serbs, Magyars and other peoples in this area into pashalics.

In face of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, that found a Europe divided by its own expansionist policy and sapped by internal feudal fights, the Romanian princes understood the need for achieving a common front of Romanian principalities; they knew how to use the rivalries among the big powers to counter external dangers; they ensured the defense of the land by the people's war; they established contacts and sent messages to close or more distant neighbors, negotiating and reinforcing advantageous political alliances; they established neighborly relations with the Porte when the internal and external situation was unfavorable for armed confrontation, and so forth. On the international plane, the existence of the autonomous Romanian principalities in the area of the Carpathians, Danube and Black Sea constituted a point of support for the liberation struggle of subjugated peoples.

In the middle of the 16th century, the Porte established its domination over Hungary for a century and a half, creating the beiler-beilic with the residence in Buda. Under these conditions, the Romanian principality of Transylvania broke away from the jurisdiction of Hungary and established with the Porte relations of vassalage-suzerainty under treaties known as "ahidname" (capitulations), hence benefitting of a legal status similar to the status of the other two Romanian principalities. The preservation of autonomy, among other things, facilitated the ties among Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians, stimulating multilateral cooperation among Moldova, Transylvania and Wallachia.

The imperatives of survival under the difficult conditions of that tumultuous period led to the achievement of the unification of the Romanian principalities in 1600, a unification which, in the final analysis, was a requirement of an objective, legal historical process. By the courageous action of Michael The Brave, the centuries-old ideal of Romanians -- unification within the ancestral ethnic borders -- became for a short time a reality, offering a powerful and permanent incentive to subsequent generations.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the contradictions among the big powers in south-east Europe increased, with their expansionist policy directly focusing on the Romanian principalities. The more and more evident decline of the Ottoman Empire permitted the Hapsburg Empire to commence the onslaught against the Porte. In 1686, following the victories obtained over the Ottomans, the Austrian army penetrated Transylvania, imposing on Prince Michael Apafi the Blaj treaty, under which the occupation army had to be received in Transylvania "for wintering." Subsequently, by pressuring military methods, in 1688, the Hapsburg Empire obtained from the

Transylvanian Diet the "consented" renunciation of the Porte suzerainty and acceptance of the "protection of the emperor" in Vienna. Practically, by the Leopold Diploma of 1691, Transylvania became -- in the form of "big principality" -- a province of the Hapsburg Empire.

After the Austro-Turkish war of 1716-1718, the Hapsburg Empire annexed another territory inhabited by Romanians -- Banat. Ruled by military governors, then, from 1751, by civilian presidents, Banat was placed under the direct authority of the Vienna Court. A powerful process of colonization, unleashed by the demographic policy of Hapsburg authorities, drew to this province many German, Italian, French and other settlers.

At the end of the 1768-1774 Russo-Turkish war, won by tsarist Russia, the Hapsburg Empire mobilized its army and supported the Porte during the negotiations, so as not to allow the Tsar to obtain too great advantages. As a reward for this support, the Hapsburg Empire asked the Porte to make a border rectification in south Galicia, under the pretext of needing a Romanian strip of land to connect to the Hapsburg Empire Galicia, which they had occupied in 1688. By the cession act signed in 1775 and then included in the peace treaty signed at Sistov between Austria and the Porte, in 1791, the Hapsburg Empire took over the northern part of Moldova -- a Romanian territory -- including Suceava, the old capital of feudal Moldova. It must be pointed out that this act was concluded unlawfully by the Porte, because, on the basis of the old capitulations, it did not have the right to cede any patch of land from the autonomous territories under its suzerainty. At first the Hapsburg government designated the new territory as "Austrian Moldova." Soon, however, in order to disguise the annexation, Austria designated this territory as "Bucovina," after the designation of beech forests at Cosmin. Until 1786, Bucovina was kept under Austrian military administration, and subsequently was added to Galicia, as a simple administrative district of that province.

#### Keen Resistance to Oppression Policy

It must be emphasized that all who conducted statistical investigations in Transylvania pointed out that the Romanians permanently constituted the absolute majority of the population in the provinces occupied. In a report addressed to the Vienna Court in 1701, the Jesuit Freiberger stated that "the Romanians are spread all over Transylvania, even among Szecklers and on the land and in capitals of Transylvanian Saxons. There is no village, town or suburb without Romanians." [1] According to facts and figures contained in a conscription for 1760-1762, the following demographic situation was found in Transylvania: 66.46% Romanians, 21.62% Hungarians and Szecklers, 11.72% Saxons. [2] Commenting on this situation, the Magyar scholar Iosif Benko stated: "So great is the number of Romanians that it not only equals but by far exceeds all the other nations in Transylvania combined." [3] This ethnic reality was also acknowledged by the highest official circles at the Vienna Court. Empress Maria Theresa, addressing in 1748 the clergy, nobility and all Romanian inhabitants of every status and walk of life, calls Transylvania "our Romanian principality." [4]

To the profound changes that occurred on an overall European scale, in the second half of the 18th century, the Romanian people provided a unique input, stemming from the realities of their existence, from a multicentury experience of struggle

for freedom. Outstanding in this regard was the great social and national uprising of Transylvanian Romanians in 1784, led by Horea, Closca and Crisan. As follows from the contents of the Deva Ultimatum ("There should no longer be any nobility.... The landlords must for ever leave their estates. They too must pay taxes like the common people. The landlord estates must be divided among the common people." [5]) it aimed at destroying from foundations the feudal regime in Transylvania and, at the same time, at achieving the national emancipation of Romanians. Moreover, Horea advocated the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian Principalities. With good reason, K. Marx wrote that Horea became "the symbol of Dacia's rebirth." [6]

The Romanian political program was concretized in documents of profound analysis and synthesis of the interests of the Romanian nation as a whole, as, for instance, "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" 1791. Worked out by Transylvanian Romanians on the basis of realities in Transylvania, this program-document opened up a new stage in the movement for the assertion of the Romanians' national awareness. The idea of Romanian nation with imprescriptible rights over the ancestral territory of ancient Dacia, with the right to organize their life freely and unhampered, became the support of all the political and social actions conducted by the Romanians in the following period. In 1804 a New Supplex clearly asserted that the Romanians were the natural heirs of Dacia, that contained Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldo-Wlachia and Banat. [7] In this context, the movement for freedom and national unity took on new dimensions through the Transylvanian School and through the cultural and political movements and associations in Wallachia and Moldova. During the 1821 revolution, led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the Romanian masses in Transylvania were waiting for Prince Tudor "to bring justice here also." [8]

The ideals of freedom and unity found an even stronger expression during the 1848 Romanian revolution. Conducted against the backdrop of the great historical turmoils that had swept over almost all Europe, the revolution had its own causes, resulting from the realities and objective needs of the development of our society, in the first place from the need for eliminating the feudal rule and foreign domination, from the convergence of economic and sociopolitical ties of all the Romanian territories. Similar conditions caused the social forces of the revolution to be identical in all Romanian principalities: the bourgeoisie, which was in full process of assertion, the peasantry, the most numerous and most oppressed class, representing the basic social force of the revolution, that was joined by the patriotic intelligentsia, the emerging working class and other social sections.

In Transylvania, the revolution placed the Romanians and Hungarians, inspired by the aspiration for freedom, on the same side of the barricade, namely on the side that fought against the common oppressing enemy -- the Hapsburg Empire. This thing was understood exactly and timely by the Romanian revolutionaries. They did everything in their power to unite in a stream the revolutionary actions of the Romanians and Hungarians and to orient them toward a single goal, that would have confirmed the freedom of the two peoples. But the Hungarian revolutionaries, including their leader, Lajos Kossuth, unleashing the fight to obtain their own freedom, made the mistake of not also recognizing the right to freedom of the other peoples oppressed by the Hapsburg Empire. Consequently, in spite of realities -- ethnic and historic -- the Hungarian revolutionaries proclaimed Transylvania's passing to Hungary, denying to the Romanian majority population the right to decide their own destiny, in accordance with the democratic principles on whose basis they rose to revolutionary

struggle in 1848-1849. Such a stance, in the final analysis, aimed at ensuring the perpetuation of the domination of a minority over the majority of the population, hence, going down as one of the main causes of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, that failed to ensure the support of the other oppressed nations in the empire. A people, aware of their historical rights, as were the Romanian people, did not wish to exchange one yoke with another. In the name of fraternity, liberty and equality -- democratic, progressive principles that inspired the 1848 revolution -- the Transylvanian Romanians proclaimed themselves a free and independent nation and rejected Transylvania's unification with Hungary as an abusive, counterrevolutionary act. Moreover, they voiced their firm will to place the relations between the two peoples on the durable bases of full equality." The Romanian nation apprise the coinhabiting nations that, in their wish to constitute and organize themselves on the national basis, they do not harbor enmity against other nations and recognize the same right for all, wish to respect it sincerely, requesting respect based on justice; consequently, the Romanian nation do not want to rule over other nations, nor will they suffer the rule by others, but they want equal right for all." [9]

#### Undaunted Defenders of the Romanian People's National Identity and Interests

After the suppression of the 1848-1849 revolution, the Romanian provinces under Hapsburg rule further experienced the policy of social and national oppression. For the purpose of quieting the minds, through the urbarial patents of 1853 and 1854 rules were also made for the situation of the peasants not included in the laws of 1848, the emancipation from feudal dependency being also extended to "jelers," in the context of compensation of landlords by the last-named. Furthermore, the Vienna Court was trying to attenuate the contradictions between the representatives of the imperial authorities and the Magyar nobility, who, as a result of the set of measures for the "pacification" of these provinces, had lost some rights and privileges. The promoter of this policy was the minister of the interior Alexander von Bach.

After the defeats of the Austrian army by the French, in the summer of 1859, the Hapsburg Empire was shaken by a number of broader social and national movements that aggravated its crisis. Such events compelled the Vienna Court to accept some reforms and cancel the decision to unify Transylvania with Hungary. However, after the territorial reorganizations, the Romanians in the Hapsburg Empire found themselves divided in four different administrative units, namely: "historical" Transylvania; Banat, included in Serbian Voivodina; Bucovina, which in 1849 had become an autonomous duchy; Crișana and Maramures, included in Hungary. By such formulas the imperial government in Vienna was hoping to curb the tendencies to national liberation of the Romanians in the empire. The German language was declared the official, mandatory language, an instrument in the hand of the policy of forced denationalization. The demand of the Romanian representatives to the effect that from the Romanian territories under the rule of the monarchy an autonomous province be formed, where the use of the Romanian language and administration through Romanian officials be guaranteed was not taken into consideration.

The Hapsburg authorities constantly had in mind the powerful reverberation evoked in Transylvania by the Unification of the Romanian Principalities achieved on 24 January 1859. They took drastic measures to prevent any action that could endanger the territorial annexations, the domination over the oppressed nationalities,

specifically the Romanians. Nevertheless, the ties between Transylvania and the United Principalities could not be impeded in any way. Many reports of local military and civilian authorities sent in those years to the Vienna Court reflect the turmoils of the Romanian population in Transylvania, their untiring struggle for freedom, for unification with the Romanians beyond the Carpathians.

In the spring of 1860, the political representatives of the Romanians, alongside the leaders of Hungarians and Saxons in Transylvania, and of other nationalities represented in the "strengthened" Imperial Senate (Verstarker Reichsrat), set forth their views on the question of reorganization of the monarchy in the federal form. The Romanian deputies advanced the idea of institution of the principle of national, political, confessional and cultural equality for all the peoples included. However, their proposals aroused the opposition of the Austrian aristocracy and bourgeoisie and of the Hungarian nobility, who characterized them as "Garibaldian tendencies," designed to lead to the destruction of the monarchy and, consequently, were rejected.

During the years 1861-1863, as a result of the efforts of some outstanding visionary intellectuals, important political and cultural undertakings developed, that focused on strengthening the national awareness of Transylvanian Romanians. For instance, 1861 saw the foundation of the "Transylvanian Association for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People" (Astra) which had three sections: 1. Philological and literary; 2. Historical; 3. Scientific. Its members were selected from all the historical provinces inhabited by Romanians. Following the example of Transylvanian Romanians, the Maramures Romanians set up the "Association for the Culture of the Romanian People in Maramures," then the Bucovina Romanians, the "Society for Romanian Culture and Literature in Bucovina," also with members selected from among Romanian scholars from everywhere. Furthermore, the "Romanian Cultural Society of Arad" for the Romanians in Banat and Crisana, was organized upon the same pattern.

Over 13-16 January 1863 the Romanian intellectuals organized a conference in Sibiu with the aim of surveying the situation of the Romanian population in Transylvania, for whom equal rights with the other nations had not been recognized. The conference requested the Imperial Court to work out a new electoral law that would give the right to secret vote to all major males that owned land, residential home or had an annual income of at least 50 forints.

Accepting the idea of such a compromise, the Vienna Court convened the elections to the Diet of Transylvania on 1 July 1863. Based on the results of these elections, designated to the Diet were 46 Romanians, 42 Hungarians and 32 Saxons, to whom were added ex officio royalist deputies designated by the emperor: 11 Romanians, 12 Hungarians and 11 Saxons; consequently, the Diet was composed of 57 Romanians, 54 Hungarians and 43 Saxons. [10] Although the number of deputies was not proportional to the size of the population belonging to the three nationalities which they represented, for the Romanians the outcome of the elections constituted a significant victory. Implicitly, it was proved that the Romanians formed the majority, and the Hungarian deputies could no longer decide alone on the formulation of laws. The fact that the Romanians did not obtain a proportional number of deputies was due to the barriers imposed by the censitaire vote and designation of "royalists" to the Diet. However, participating in the Diet debates were only the Romanian and Saxon deputies (57+43), to whom were added 4 Magyar royalists, because the elected Magyar deputies (together with the other 8 royalists), not having been able to ensure the majority, refused to participate.

Among the laws promulgated by the Diet of Transylvania in the two sessions held in Sibiu (15 July-13 October 1863 and 23 May-29 October 1864), of outstanding interest for Romanians is the "Transylvanian Law for Equal Rights of the Romanian Nation." By paragraph 3 it granted the Romanians rights of which they had been deprived in the past, placing the Romanian nation on an equal footing with the nations privileged under the prior laws: "The four nations recognized by law, that is the Magyar, Szeckler, Saxon and Romanian nations on a mutual basis have fully equal rights and, hence, shall make usage, under the Transylvanian Constitution, of such political rights." Also guaranteed were "religious freedom and equal civil and political rights of all inhabitants of the country, regardless of nationality or faith." Consequently, the Romanian nation and the Orthodox religion ceased to be only tolerated and acquired the same status as the other nations and, respectively, religions in the empire. Moreover, paragraph 5 of the law specified that "in the arms of the Great Principality of Transylvania an emblem specific to the Romanian nation shall be introduced." [11].

Hence, against the backdrop of the accelerated crisis of the absolutist feudal regime concretely shaped was the profound aspiration of the Romanian people for sovereignty, for a free national life. This dealt a powerful blow at the political system introduced on the conclusion of the pact of the "three nations" at Capilna, on 16 September 1437, a pact that instituted by force and oppression the dominance of some privileged over Transylvania's master by right -- the Romanian people.

#### New Stage in National Liberation Struggle

The liberal regulations accepted by the Vienna Court under the pressure of the crisis that shook the empire, however, were short lived. As a result of the negotiations conducted by the Vienna Aulic Chancellery with the prominent leaders of the nobility, the emperor dissolved the Sibiu Diet and ordered new elections for the Cluj Diet. Disregarding the Romanians' opposition, the new Diet, dominated by the Hungarian noblemen -- that began its proceedings on 20 November 1865 -- voted for the unification of Transylvania with Hungary and afterwards self-dissolved. On 9 January 1866 the Imperial Court prorogated the Diet, an act by which, against the Romanian people's will, Transylvania lost its autonomy and again became an object of transaction between the Hapsburg Empire and the Hungarian nobility. Accomplished by diktat and deceit, in 1865, the "Unification" of Transylvania with Hungary represented the political expression of the class interests of a dominant minority, violating the will and interests of the broad masses of the Romanian population, that formed the overwhelming majority of the population in Transylvania.

The day of 8 June 1867, when Franz Joseph was crowned as the king of Hungary also, confirmed the end of Austrian absolutism and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian dualism. Transylvania entered, for 51 years, the direct domination of the Hungarian nobility. In this connection historian Louis Leger wrote: "The Magyar noblemen, with their usual selfishness, had only considered their own interests; ....they took advantage of their victory to exert heavy domination on Romanians, Serbians and Slovaks." [12] The American historian Robert Kann, reputed for his studies on the history of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, described the manner in which this compromise was achieved as "one of the most deplorable chapters in the history of the nationality policy in the monarchy." [13]

The Romanians' reaction against the Austro-Hungarian compromise and the forced incorporation of Transylvania into Hungary reached unprecedented levels on both sides of the Carpathians. The protest of the Transylvanian Romanians and their national political program were made known through the publishing, in the press inside and outside the empire, of the memorandum called "The Blaj Pronouncement" (15 May 1868). Launched at a people's rally attended by more than 60,000 Romanians from all over Transylvania, to mark the 20th anniversary of the Blaj rally of May 1848, the Pronouncement had the character of a mass protest against the forced unification of Transylvania with Hungary, without the consultation of Romanians, the majority population of Transylvania. Again it was demonstrated that the Romanians in Transylvania considered the act of the unification as an historical injustice against which they were determined to fight by all means. A clear request was made for the return of the administrative-political autonomy, recognition and application of the laws voted in the Sibiu Diet of 1863-1864, reopening of the Transylvanian Diet on the basis of a genuine popular representation.

Hence, after the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian dualist compromise, the struggle of Transylvanian Romanians for political rights and national freedom entered a new stage. Increasingly taking shape among the leaders of the Romanians and of the other oppressed nationalities was the idea that only by relying on the people's masses and with the aid of progressive public opinion in all Europe was it possible to obtain the desired results in their fight for social and national justice.

Organized in two political parties -- the Romanian National Party of Transylvania and the Romanian National Party of Banat and Hungary, which in 1881 merged under the name of the Romanian National Party -- the Romanian bourgeoisie inaugurated a new stage of the national liberation struggle. Although tactically the two parties differed radically, both provided a significant input into the assertion of the interests of the Romanian nation. By participation in the proceedings of the Hungarian parliament, the members of the RNP of Banat and Hungary, for this reason also called "activists," managed to keep the nationality problem in the center of the concern of public opinion in the Kingdom. The members of the RNP of Transylvania, who, because they boycotted the parliament, were called "passivists," were demonstrating that it did not express the realities in Transylvania in terms of ethnic and national levels. Moreover, the constitution of the above-mentioned political parties signified the withdrawal of the national movement of Transylvanian Romanians from under the tutelage of the clergy of the two churches, Orthodox and United. The lay leadership, by the bourgeoisie, of the national movement was instrumental in the energizing of this movement, in the broadening of its political concerns, in its firmer tackling of social and national problems.

Romanians' resistance to the Austro-Hungarian dualism took on new dimensions after the winning of the state independence of Romania in 1877 and as the Romanian state asserted itself in international relationships. During the war against the Ottoman Empire in 1877-1878, thousands of young people from the Romanian territories under Hapsburg occupation, in spite of all kinds of obstacles and threats from the authorities, crossed the mountains and enrolled as volunteers in the Romanian army, where they added immortal pages of patriotism. Pointing out the impact of the winning of Romania's full state independence on Romanians in the territories under foreign rule, Gustav Kalmoky, Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, in a memorandum written in 1881, noted: "It was inevitable for the Romanians in Transylvania to

turn toward their brothers beyond the Carpathians, toward the state akin as a nation, that rose, becoming a member of the family of European peoples, with equal rights internationally, that increases its forces, broadens its military capacity, underestimated at the beginning, and which visibly has won power and prestige abroad. It has happily offered all discontented elements a shelter for the present and a hope for the future. Romania's population passionately joined its voice to the protests against denationalization and oppression." [14]

The collusion between the ringleaders of the Hapsburg bourgeoisie and the Hungarian nobility, embodied in the Austro-Hungarian dualism, the array of reactionary, antinationality measures taken against Romanians and the other peoples in the empire were far from preventing the struggle for reunification or formation of national states. Nothing was capable of suppressing the national awareness of Transylvanian Romanians, to cause them to forget their affiliation with the Romanian people, a people united in their aspiration for national freedom, unity and independence. Also significant in this regard is the report of information agent Friedrich Lachmann, dated September 1881, who, after his talk in Brasov with the members of the Mureseni family, reported: "They belong to the category of those inborn partisans of Greater Romania who only have one goal before their eyes: one day to be united with their countrymen beyond the mountains." [15]

#### Policy Contradictory to Democratic Principles and Ethnic Realities

Ignoring ethnic realities, the Magyar authorities from the beginning focused their activity on the principle of the "uninational" state, consequently officializing the older policy of assimilation of other nationalities. It is known that the new constitution adopted by the dualist empire in December 1867 was supplemented by the law of 6 December 1868, that proclaimed the existence of a single political nation -- "the indivisible, unified Magyar nation" -- and decreed the Hungarian language as the sole official language, also providing for "official use" of the languages of nationalities. These latter constitutional provisions, however, were flagrantly violated. A number of laws and measures, successively adopted in 1879, 1883, 1891, 1893, and so forth, on education at all levels, administration and the like, actually cancelled the general provisions of the Constitution.

It is known that in the comprehensive program for forced denationalization, laws were voted even aiming at magyarizing the names of families, towns, villages and institutions in Transylvania. The Romanian press was the aim of unbearable vexations, with censorship prohibiting any attempt at supporting or promoting Romanian national interests. Pointing out the context in which he had to conduct his journalistic activity, Simion Barnutiu wrote Valeriu Braniste: "For every word which I write I keep the penal code before my eyes and imagine that the gendarme stands behind me! These days it is the only way a Romanian journalist can write." [16]

The procedure of applying electoral laws in Transylvania was deliberately aimed at excluding from voting the Romanians and the other non-Magyar nationalities. The increased qualification imposed on the income according to land, exclusion of all those who did not know how to read and write in Hungarian, and the system of districting the electoral constituencies, to which were added the methods of electoral brow-beating and corruption, were instrumental in actual removal from political life of broad categories of people. Discovering illegalities committed by authorities, a report of Great Britain general consul in Budapest to the British foreign minister

stated: "The special electoral law for Transylvania generates complaints. All noblemen, and these are only of Magyar nationality, who in 1872 enjoyed the electoral right have this right for life. For instance, today 67.4% of all Transylvanian voters are noblemen. Added to this is a geometry of electoral constituencies which is continuously changing and constantly adapting to the fluctuating situation of the population, disregarding the fact that in the purely Romanian counties an electoral constituency is composed of thousands of voters, while in those with mixed population, of hardly one hundred.... The Romanians are excluded by all kinds of tricks from the administrative functions obtained through elections, even though in some districts they account for 96 to 97% of the population and here from them there is no abstaining from voting. Furthermore, state functions for them actually are inaccessible." [17]

In opposition to the official, reactionary policy of politicians and counts that supported Greater Hungary, a number of progressive Magyar intellectuals raised their voice in defense of the cause of oppressed peoples. For instance, the great poet Ady Endre condemned the chauvinistic education which students received in schools. He stated: "I learned from the pious pr. Palfy that it is patriotic to abuse the Germans, Serbians, Romanians, Slovaks. Is it so? If it is, I solemnly declare that I am not a patriot. I respect every nation, language, religion, creed." [18] In his turn, deputy Ludovic of Mocsary, wrote in the big daily EGYETERTES dated 25 December 1907: "Excessive fear impels us to commit truly extravagant actions. I have in mind the overall tendency to magyarization. I know very well that here and there this truth is denied, but, then, why is there frenetic applause in the four corners of the country every time the keen chauvinist Banffy repeats that our homeland will be happy only when the last individual belonging to the Romanian or Slovak race will be transformed into a genuine Magyar?" Voicing an evident truth, Mocsary also stated: "Let us not wish impossible things.... We face national blocks that are aware and affected by progress."

In the ranks of such representative people views were expressed for cooperation and development of projects designed to result in rapprochement and better knowledge between Romanians and Hungarians, despite the atmosphere of pressure and chauvinism promoted by the ruling classes. For instance, Magyar writers, in 1868, hailed in Elena Ghica (Dora d'Istria) one of the promoters of the strengthening of Romanian-Hungarian national relations. Among other such manifestations of friendship and understanding among nations, in 1871 the chief editor of FAMILY review, Iosif Vulcan, was co-opted as a member of the reputed Hungarian literary society "Kisfaludi Tarsag." The secretary of the society, in his toast on this occasion, with good reason pointed out that "only the ruling classes bear the blame and responsibility for instigating hatred among those who work and live in Transylvania."

The denationalization conducted with the most diverse methods and in multiple forms, far from leading to the results expected by authorities, strengthened the resistance of the oppressed nationalities, heightened their struggle for liberation. For instance, reviewing the three decades of dualist government, the newspaper EGYETERTES noted in June 1904 that "the magyarization of nationalities is an impossibility, a hallucination, that only constantly fosters and incites the profound discontent of non-Magyar nationalities." [19] Moreover, the newspaper BUDAPESTI HIRLAP, under the signature of Gustav Bekists, concluded that "command of the language does not make anybody Magyar when the person does not also feel true affection for the Magyar

homeland. Precisely the Daco-Roman and Slovaks know the Hungarian language very well. The educated classes of Slovaks and Wallachs generally speak our language. Nevertheless, they did not, unfortunately, join the national-Magyar cause." [20]

Firmly opposing the attempts at depriving them of their national rights, of their ancestral language, the Transylvanian Romanians waged an intensive struggle to counter the denationalization laws and programs, to develop national culture. In this context, at the Sibiu Special Conference of the Romanian National Party, held on 20-21 January 1892, it was decided to work out a memorandum to emperor Franz Joseph I requesting the observance of the historical rights of Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and reasserting their resolve to win national freedom, to develop independently. The memorandum movement highlighted the consensus of the Romanian nation in their struggle for unity.

The memorandum approved by the National Conference of the Romanian National Party held in Sibiu in March 1892 contained a thorough analysis of the economic, social, political and cultural situation of the more than 3 million Romanian subjects in Austro-Hungary, during the quarter of a century since the formation of the dualist monarchy, pointing out the serious consequences of the policy furthered by the authorities and spotlighting the wish for creation of conditions for them to enable them to live "in good understanding with all our countrymen and be able to carry on in peace our cultural and economic pursuit." [21] The text of the document was forwarded, on 28 May 1892, to the Imperial Court by a delegation headed by the leaders of the Romanian National Party and formed of 300 representatives of walks of life in Transylvania -- intellectuals, craftsmen, workers. At the request of the Hungarian government, emperor Franz Joseph I refused to receive the delegation and without examining the contents of the memorandum, sent it to the Budapest cabinet.

#### "The Existence of a People Is Not Discussed But It Is Asserted"

As a result of the memorandum action the authorities summoned the Executive Committee of the Romanian National Party and other personalities of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania in court. The trial in Cluj, from 25 April to 7 May 1894, constituted -- contrary to the expectations of its organizers -- another opportunity for reasserting the Romanian people's will to continue their righteous struggle. On 7 May 1894 Cluj had an unusual appearance. The correspondent of GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote: "Today, 7 May 1894 will go down for ever in golden letters in the pages of the history of the Romanian people as a red-letter day, as a day of triumph of national awareness, as a day of victory of European civilization." Synthesizing the goals of the Romanians' struggle and pointing out the justness of the cause of the memorandum movement, Ion Ratiu stated at the trial that "what is being discussed here is the very existence of the Romanian people. However, the existence of a people is not discussed, it is asserted. Therefore, we do not intend to come before you to prove that we have the right to existence. On such a matter we cannot defend ourselves before you; we can only accuse, before the civilized world, the oppressive system which tends to deprive us of the most cherished asset of a people: law and language! Therefore we no longer are here accused, we are accusers." [22]

The trial, that concluded with the sentencing of the 14 memorandum leaders to hard years of imprisonment, had a wide internal and international reverberation. In the

entire Romanian land, either in the free country or on the territories under foreign occupation, there were initiated many demonstrations of protest, of solidarity with the sentenced leaders, of support for the national cause. The unjust sentence in Cluj displeased even the most loyal defenders of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. For instance, the 26 May 1894 report of the general consul of Germany in Budapest, A. von Monts, to the chancellor of the German Reich, von Caprivi, stated: "No matter what your opinion on the Romanian issue may be, the trial as such is a great mistake even from the Magyar point of view. Further, a great mistake involved the enunciation of the interdiction for the accused and defenders -- subsequently, of course, limited to the last-named -- from using the Romanian language, an interdiction which the court, in contradiction to the so-called law on nationalities, considered it advisable to apply. It is easy to assess what sentiments the harsh penal verdicts issued yesterday will evoke in all Romanians inside and outside the Hapsburg monarchy. Noteworthy is the fact that the signatories to the memorandum are by no means yesmen, but delegates elected on the basis of a national organization of all the counties inhabited by Romanians. Hence, the verdict deals a blow at all the people that numbers in Hungary more than two and a half million." [23] The report of the Belgian minister in Vienna, Van der Steen, to the foreign minister of Belgium, count Merode Westerloo, reported on the same line: "Now, the persecutions against Romanians are no longer an imagining, they are a sad reality! The incidents at the Cluj trial have produced enormous sensation in Romania. Abroad, in the French, Italian and English press the Transylvanians receive encouragements that were not manifested hitherto." [24].

The policy of denationalization of minorities promoted in Transylvania in the second half of the past century and the beginning of our century sensitized many outstanding political personalities of Europe in those days. For instance, Georges Clemenceau, the future premier of France, indicated in the newspaper LA JUSTICE dated 12 May 1894 that the Romanian schools were based on private donations and that in these schools education was required to proceed in Hungarian. Proceeding from the finding that the Romanians were deprived of any political rights, he concluded: "The Magyars, lovers of freedom, must acknowledge also for others the same right to life which they have loudly and firmly claimed for themselves."

Under the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad and because of the diplomatic intervention of Romania, emperor Franz Joseph I was compelled to pardon the memorandum leaders on 19 September 1895. However, ignoring the protests of people's masses, of the lucid, democratic elements at home and of progressive public opinion in other countries, the authorities continued to broadly promote their policy of national oppression, of denationalization. Used among the methods of forced assimilation was the magyarization of people's names. The survey of Tâlkes Simion "Hogy magyarosít-suk a vezetekneveket" (How to Magyarize the Last Name) published in Budapest in 1898 contained specific instructions on the procedure for changing the Romanian names into Magyar names. Among these measures very significant was the law on schools, passed in 1907, for which its advocate, count Albert Appony, predicted the following purpose: "In a few years it will eliminate all the nonpatriotic schools," because "each school and each teacher, regardless of the nature of the school and the aspect that it does or does not enjoy state aid, has the duty to develop and strengthen in the students' minds the spirit of unification with the Magyar homeland. This point of view must prevail in the overall education." [25]

The authorities no longer even tolerated the existence of the Romanian political party. Consequently, by Order No 321/1894, the dissolution of the Romanian National Party was decided. The Circular Order of 6 January 1895 stated: "Hence, anyone taking part in meetings or calling of meetings in answer to the instruction of the above party shall be punished, in accordance with paragraph 16 of the article of law XV of 1879 and on the basis of this order, with imprisonment and a fine up to 100 forints." [26] This and other such measures could not but have direct impact on the presence of Romanians in political life. For instance, in 1910, from the 413 deputies to the Budapest Parliament 393 were Hungarians, 13 Germans, 5 Romanians and 2 Slovaks. [27] This "distribution" tellingly illustrates the policy pursued by the dualist authorities in relation to non-Magyar nationalities, that made up the majority of the population of the Magyar state.

#### National Makeup of Population in Transylvanian Localities at the Beginning of 20th Century

Romanians	had the majority in 2971 communes, that is in 64.7% of their total										
Magyars	"	"	"	616	"	"	"	"	13.4%	"	"
Szecklers	"	"	"	417	"	"	"	"	9.1%	"	"
Germans	"	"	"	350	"	"	"	"	7.6%	"	"
Others	"	"	"	243	"	"	"	"	5.2%	"	"
	Total			4597 counties					100.0		

Nationality discrimination manifested itself equally in all economic, administrative, political and cultural areas. Significant, for instance, are a few figures that reflect the proportion of officials of Romanian origin in Transylvania at the beginning of the 20th century. In upper administration Romanians accounted for only 5.4%; county and town officials, only 7.4%. In justice, the proportion of Magyar and German judges and prosecutors amounted to 94.4%.

Against the backdrop of such a reality, Sibiu was the venue of the National Conference of Transylvanian Romanians on 23 June 1893. The conference again discussed their socioeconomic, political and cultural situation. Calling for observance of the legitimate civil rights of the Romanians, that is of the overwhelming majority of the population in Transylvania, the participants expressed their resolve to continue their fight for national freedom, in spite of any obstacle or persecution.

The talks at the beginning of 1913 between the government and the leaders of the RNP on the status of Romanians and the modalities to improve it did not produce any result because of the opposition of the dualist authorities. Informing the foreign minister J. Danignou about the talks between the RNP and count Tisza, the Belgian ambassador in Bucharest Van Ipersele indicated: "Noteworthy is the fact that the program involves the will of Romanians in Transylvania to achieve the conditions required for their national existence and development, briefly, their refusal to be deromanized to the benefit of the Magyars." [29]

In his turn, in reference to the talks between count Tisza and the Romanians, the Saxon deputy Rudolf Brandsch in the Budapest Diet, synthesizing the official concept on the unified Magyar state, stated: "I firmly contest that we, non-Magyars (Saxons included), can have long the possibility of living within this concept of

a "unified Magyar state," because the state can at will increase the area of its power and restrict at will the rights of the foreigner, until the latter, ultimately, passes away. Therefore I believe that it is a vital national matter to overthrow and destroy the current system of government together with its concept on the "unified Magyar state." [30] To Saxons themselves and to their economic interests, as follows from the secret report handed by F. Lachmann to Austro-Hungarian authorities in Vienna in 1880, the unification of Transylvania with Romania was a natural finality. Lachmann wrote: "I had the opportunity to talk with several citizens of the Saxon colony, who did not hesitate to admit in my presence that they perceive their own hope in the fact that the Province (Transylvania) will sometime become Romanian." [31]

According to data in official censuses conducted in Transylvania in 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910, the Romanians constituted -- in relation to any of the other nationalities -- the most numerous, majority population.

This situation is significantly confirmed by the nationality makeup of the population according to localities [32] (see table).

#### Natural Outcome of Transylvanian Romanians' Liberation Struggle -- Transylvania's Unification With Romania

The worsening of the international situation and the looming of large-scale conflicts on the European continent caused the heightening of the Romanians' struggle for the creation of the unified national state. Noticing a general characteristic of the state of mind of the Romanian population in all Transylvania, viscount Kollo, of Mures-Turda, indicated in a report to the Minister of Interior of Hungary that "since the end of the second Balkan war national awareness in the ranks of citizens with Romanian as the maternal language has dangerously increased. Priests and teachers not only have the courage to openly advocate at official meetings and in public buildings their hostile ideas against Hungarians and the Magyar state but also their threats are the order of the day. They organize meetings with cultural and economic designations, set up institutions, organize reading circles in various communes, dance circles and balls attended by representatives not only as usually from the surroundings but also from the most remote areas. I feel that it is my duty to report to you that among the Romanian-language citizens the ground is prepared in such a way that in case of war plenty of daily inimical actions will spring up.... if we do not take the necessary precautionary measures." [33]

In the days prior to the unleashing of World War I, the report of minister of interior Sandor Janos addressed to the prime minister of Hungary and the minister of war stated: "Hence, no wonder that the current war situation has already produced some troubles and alarm, especially with regard to what will happen after the army corps of Transylvania will move toward the front and ensuring of internal peace will focus on civic guards, mostly made up of Romanians." [34]

However, while the Hapsburg authorities were hoping that by repressive measures they would succeed in perpetuating the historical injustice against the Romanians, the Romanians were striving to win legitimate rights through good understanding with the Hungarian people. Telling in this regard are the writings of Valeriu Braniste, who, as early as in 1905, in an article in the newspaper DRAPELUL indicated: "Our

policy is not based on hatred against Magyars but on devotion to the interests of national existence of the Romanian people. This devotion prompts us to the firmest resistance to utopian tendencies toward denationalization promoted by the state policy of Hungary, but this devotion is far too pure and sacred to be degraded by manifestations of hatred." [35] To those who maintained that the movement of nationalities for liberation from Hapsburg oppression only was an "agitation" fostered by circles abroad, V. Braniste replied: "Not to understand that the agitators are here, at home, signifies putting the greatest obstacles to the development of the country. The instigators of the struggle of nationalities are no others than the supporters of the utopian concept of transforming the multinational state into the Magyar national state, the propagators of the erroneous idea of the possibility of forced magyarization. These people, although they boasted to be great patriots, did not actually serve their homeland, but hastened its collapse." V. Braniste, like many other lucid intellectuals, including Magyars, was convinced of the impossibility of the persistence of the state created artificially in 1867.

The ruling circles of the Hapsburg Empire in those years faced the no-way-out alternative: either they offer and guarantee equal rights to the nationalities, which, consequently, would have resulted in the natural dissolution of the dualist kingdom, or they try to achieve, at any cost, the "national" unification by assimilation of the other nationalities, which would have been utopia and would have resulted in forced dissolution. Moreover, that is how things occurred.

The unleashing of World War I, in the summer of 1914, caused the heightening of the peoples' struggle for national and social rights, for the formation or unification of national states by the collapse of the big multinational empires.

Readied by the tireless working of centuries, by the consistent and heroic struggle of Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians, the unification of Transylvania with Romania, decided by the People's Assembly at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918, was not a situational act, born at the table of diplomatic negotiations -- as its staunch opponents tried to demonstrate -- but the natural outcome of a long historical process, the fulfillment of an imperative socioeconomic, political and national need. Meeting the indisputable attributes of a legislative, constituent national body, the Assembly at Alba Iulia expressed the unanimous will of the overwhelming majority of the population in Transylvania, that, on the basis of its legitimate historical right, shattered the forced ties that restricted its national freedom, the right to independent assertion in the concert of world nations, deciding on unification forever with its brothers beyond the Carpathians within the borders of an indivisible unified national state -- Romania.

The creation of the Romanian unified national state lent a powerful impetus to the socioeconomic, political and cultural development of the Romanian nation, created the favorable conditions for the broader and broader manifestation of its creative abilities, of its aspirations for progress. Still needed were many efforts and social battles, still many obstacles and difficulties had to be overcome, great hardships and sacrifices became inevitable for the Romanian people to be able to fully enjoy the fruits of the development of their unified homeland, the attributes of their national sovereignty and independence. The Romanian Communist Party had the historic mission of leading the broad people's masses to the final victory in the fight for social and national liberation, for ensuring a prosperous, dignified and happy life.

Socialism has provided the Romanian national state with its genuine socioeconomic, political and cultural values, it has made possible the correct solution of the nationality problem, achievement of equality of rights for all the working people regardless of their nationality, has given strength and stability to the attributes of national sovereignty and independence, elevating to higher and higher levels Romania's international prestige. Implementing the Romanian Communist Party program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and for the country's advance toward communism, the Romanian people are aware of their chief obligation to further consolidate the work of their forerunners, to firmly oppose any attempt at harming the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Romania, not to spare any effort to ensure its further progress.

Under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, that has guided our country along the path of renewing changes, working people, regardless of their nationality, heighten their constructive efforts, adding new bricks to the granite structure of the Romanian state. Rallying even closer around the party, its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, they are firmly resolved to do their utmost to ensure a radiant future for their socialist homeland, for the further assertion of Romania among the free nations of the planet.

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PUNGAN TALKS IN MOSCOW--Comrade Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, had talks in Moscow with Nikolay Patrolichev, USSR minister of foreign trade, as well as with the first deputy minister of foreign trade, the chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and the minister of the aviation industry. The sides discussed current issues of economic cooperation between the two countries and agreed upon new ventures to further develop trade exchanges and economic cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union. The foreign trade ministers of the two countries signed a protocol on exchanges of commodities between Romania and the Soviet Union for 1984. The protocol provides for important increases in goods deliveries. [Text] AU301917 Bucharest Domestice Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 83]

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WESTERN COMMENT ON 'ARBITRARY' POLICE ACTION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Arbitrary Action by Political Police in Yugoslavia--Conflicts With Courts--Indictments Without Evidence"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec--There is a malaise developing around the activity of the Yugoslav political police and the judiciary depending on them. On the one hand, the higher courts at the Federal level and in the republics increasingly have occasion to revise the judgments pronounced by judicial organs in cooperation with the police. This fact is being taken note of with increasing irritation by officials of the political police--generally still known in Yugoslavia as UDBA, the acronym for State Security Administration. Police officials and prosecutors talk as if the state would collapse if they were not given a free hand in ferreting out and imprisoning "enemies of the state." It is this arbitrariness of the political police that certain political offices at the Federal level and in the republics want to curtail, regarding it as even more dangerous--not least as far as Yugoslav prestige is concerned.

A controversy erupted because the supreme court of the Kosovo Region recently had systematically reduced--often even cut in half--the sometimes very severe prison sentences pronounced against Albanian nationalists.

The court says that the political situation is different now from what it was as recently as 3 years ago. This attitude also reflects a more united stand by Albanian circles, who think they have now reduced the tension sufficiently and no longer need to have Serbian hawks patronize them. It is also being said that judges and prosecutors are increasingly exposed to threats. Now the UDBA establishment in Kosovo has furiously turned against the supreme court of the region and even intends to appeal to the Yugoslav Supreme Court in Belgrade.

Arbitrary action by the political police has all along been particularly pronounced in the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. In Bosnia a citizen recently got to see a police report in which his father, who had been a communist, partisan and highly respected officer, was described without any further explanation as a "well-known Chetnik." In both these republics, activities are organized for the surveillance and intimidation of Yugoslav workers abroad, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany. It has been shown on several occasions that in Austria too Yugoslavs were forced to give "information" about

other guest workers under threat of action against them or their families. In Vienna, a student presented such a list with 30 names to the Austrian police. Guest workers run the risk of either being arrested or being forced to collaborate with the police when they visit Yugoslavia. The police no longer bother in such trials, which are meant to serve as a deterrent, to show in detail just who it was who heard the prisoner say what, or where the person concerned supposedly said something.

Thus in the indictment against Ante Kovacevic, instructor in Slavic studies at the University of Vienna, at Doboj in Bosnia in March 1982, just a list of statements which the prisoner was alleged to have made somewhere or other was compiled. In addition he was said to have had "contacts with emigrants" without any names being mentioned. In light of such indictments, the work of defense counsels is made almost impossible, and sentences are also fixed in advance. Kovacevic was sentenced to 6 years in prison, and the Bosnian Supreme Court so far has not reviewed the case.

Now in Bosnia too, sentences more and more frequently are reduced by a higher court. This happened in the case of some recently sentenced Franciscan monks. There is also talk about the huge trial of Muslim activists in the summer having constituted arbitrary action by the police and there being a need to "straighten it out" politically. In Croatia, the superior court of the republic has not yet embarked on such a course, and it is apparently impossible for the political forces to prevail against the police, who make it a practice to come up with several sentences against "nationalism," probably because of the rivalries between the three important leaders--Bilic, Vrhovec and Baltic.

This was evident in the case of the pardoning of the writer Gotovac.

In turn, Croatian Minister of the Interior Gazija, in a surprise move, was recently removed and replaced by Miuc, whose political line is difficult to define. Certainly Gazija had not been too lenient, for he was following the kind of course described as "anti-Croatian agitation in Croatia." Nor did he ever forget to count foreign journalists among "Yugoslavia's enemies." He boasted publicly of having Yugoslav emigrants abroad "under firm control," but they say in Zagreb that he had become a liability for certain leaders because he wanted to bring some scandals out into the open. He apparently was also caught up in Croatia's political rivalries.

The political police in Yugoslavia generally base their actions against citizens on article 133 of the penal code, which deals with "hostile propaganda." The second paragraph of that article makes punishable any "incorrect portrayal" of conditions in Yugoslavia. The police decide what is "incorrect," and the judges of the lower courts go along with it since, in contrast with the time when Yugoslavia was a kingdom, they can be removed and have to have their posts confirmed again and again. Already after Tito's death, there was some talk for the first time of abolishing that article, which is often also described as dealing with "verbal offenses." Instead it has become the main tool of political justice. But apparently it is no longer uncontroversial. At a criminologists congress in Struga, Macedonia, criminology professor Marjanovic

from Skopje recently took an emphatic stand for abolishing article 133. He was supported in this by a Slovene. Later he was subjected to an avalanche of attacks by the deputy public prosecutor Raonic in Belgrade.

Political police justice varies between the various areas of Yugoslavia. In Slovenia, but also for example in Montenegro, it is rather moderate and liberal. In Serbia, manners can often be rough, but particularly intellectuals there enjoy a kind of freedom that does not exist in Croatia or Bosnia. In Voivodina conditions are different again. There is a case occurred which caused Professor Marjanovic's intervention in Struga. The journalist Ranka Cicak, formerly correspondent of the Zagreb VJESNIK in Belgrade, had been sentenced because in a place in Voivodina, where she had a weekend cottage, she had uncovered a fraud having to do with subsidies for pig breeding. The local "pig mafia" thereupon, with police help, caused her to be sentenced for "hostile propaganda," and the judge of the Voivodina superior court reduced the sentence only to such an extent as to make a further appeal impossible. Former Yugoslav party chief Ribicic even guaranteed vis-a-vis foreign journalists at the time that Yugoslav justice could be "trusted" in this case. Shortly after the congress in Struga, however, Ranka Cicak was picked up by police and taken to prison in Sremska Mitrovica.

When Stane Dolanc, a Slovene always described as a "friend" by the German social democrats, took over as minister of the interior about 2 years ago, he was expected to introduce certain guidelines for political police work. Instead more and more anarchy, arbitrariness and lack of predictability are apparent. This depresses all correct police officers. Dependencies on and connections with republican and local authorities are on the increase. Insecurity is also spreading in the police apparatus. Nothing is heard from Dolanc. Either, in the opinion of observers, he wants to stay on good terms with certain police circles and use them for his career, or he is a weak minister of the interior who, unlike his compatriot Korocec before the war, cannot manage to prevail.

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